



THE LIBRARY
OF
THE UNIVERSITY
OF CALIFORNIA
LOS ANGELES



THE PATH OF EMPIRE

THE PATH OF EMPIRE

BY HENRY PAGE CROFT, M.P.

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY

THE RT. HON. JOSEPH CHAMBERLAIN, M.P.

LONDON

JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET, W.

1912

5.2.12



ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

AIRBORNE 40. VIBU
23. BONA 20. TA

DEC 19 1896

HARVARD

LIBRARY SETS

TO
MY FATHER
WHO TAUGHT ME
TO LOVE MY COUNTRY

The thanks of the author are due to Mr. Charles Bright, F.R.S.E., for his great assistance on the matter of Cable Communication.

PREFACE

BY THE RT. HON. JOSEPH CHAMBERLAIN, M.P.

THE Imperial side of British policy has acquired largely increased prominence during the last few years, and Mr. Page Croft is entitled to the gratitude of this country for calling attention once more to the problems which still remain unsolved in regard to it. We may not agree with all that he has written and proposed, but we cannot but thank him for this interesting contribution to the study of a subject of such far-reaching importance.

Already this question has been forced upon the notice of this country by the series of Conferences held with the Prime Ministers of the Dominions, and the trend of affairs upon the Continent has shown that we and our countrymen across the seas are interested

alike in all that goes on in the sphere of international relations, whether in Europe or elsewhere. Hitherto we have assumed that the Colonies were disinclined to take part in such matters, but this feeling has been largely altered. It is clear that if we are to maintain our proper position in the world we must take into account the new liabilities which affect all of us and none more so than the Dominions. We no longer hear of the old doctrine that we can afford to put aside the Colonies as a negligible consideration. We have learned during the past twelve years that without the assistance which they can render to us we cannot expect to hold our own in the future as we have done in the past.

The difficulty does not come from the Dominions, who have shown that they consider themselves as part of the Empire and are ready to take their share of responsibility if we are ready to take ours. Although the present system is unsatisfactory, the people of the United Kingdom now fully recognise the fact that they and the Sister States are one, and

that in the strength which closer union alone will bring lies our hope for the future.

Mr. Page Croft has treated of this change and the urgency of the need for Imperial organisation, and discussion of the subject is greatly to be welcomed.

J. CHAMBERLAIN.

HIGHBURY,
BIRMINGHAM,
January 20, 1912.

CONTENTS

	PAGE
PREFACE	vii
INTRODUCTORY	1
CHAPTER	
I. HISTORICAL	4
II. THE WAY	11
III. BRITISH IMPERIAL TRADE : ITS VALUE .	16
IV. PREFERENCE : OPPONENTS' OBJECTIONS .	28
V. DEFENCE : PART I.—THE MOTHER-COUNTRY	36
VI. DEFENCE : PART II.—DOMINION CO-OPERATION	59
VII. CONSULTATION	75
VIII. COMMUNICATION	88
IX. EMIGRATION	100
X. CONCLUSION	113

THE PATH OF EMPIRE

INTRODUCTORY

It is on the day of September 22, 1911, that I write, and the inspiration is the glorious news which the cable has brought home from Canada, speaking conclusively of the great and overwhelming defeat of Reciprocity with the United States by the Conservative party in the Dominion, with the help of those thousands of Liberals who have put their Empire before their party.

The Reciprocity Agreement was undoubtedly a crisis in the history of Canada, and indeed in the history of the Empire itself, for had the Canadian people endorsed it, it is certain that the commercial independence of the Dominion would have gradually disappeared, and that the eight million Canadians would have been unable to resist the economic pressure of the ninety millions of people of the United States. Further, there is little doubt that the loss of her commercial independence would in time have lost her

her political independence, whilst her national existence and Imperial connection would have been destroyed by the continentalism which was the ambition of her southern neighbour.

This danger is past, and the victory of the soul against the purse has displayed a side of Canadian character which, perhaps, many of us hardly credited her with. It has shown that this young nation in the West, despite its intense energy in things material, despite its continued strife for the making of money and accumulation of dollars, yet has a heart above bribes, yet has a spirit above commercial gain, and that the love of country, and still more the love of her Motherland, yet reigns supreme over all sentiments and above all alien considerations.

The victory of Canada might rank with Waterloo and Trafalgar, for, whereas they secured for us our Imperial heritage, the Canadian election of 1911 has prevented the dismemberment which assuredly would have followed reciprocity with the United States.

That the danger has existed, however, should be sufficient to make every British citizen inquire into the relations of the Empire which could make possible even the suggestion of such a policy as that which was attempted by the Laurier administration.

There is no doubt that the policy of drift which the Imperial Government has pursued is directly responsible for the recent danger, and that, great though the services of the Mother-country have been in building up the Dominions, we cannot hope for ever, or even for long, to hold the Empire together merely by the sentimental remembrance that we nurtured them in their childhood and secured the growth of their youth.

As the sons grow up so they look for an exchange of confidences with their parents, and for that mutual assistance which is expected in any family, and without which the younger generation will go to the far corners of the world to fight the battle of life unaided for themselves.

To guard against a weakening of Imperial feeling, to make stronger and more lasting the family connection, to prove of how great worth that connection is, and how much greater it can be if sanity enters our policy, this short book is written; and if it points the way to some for the greater prosperity and happiness of the British race, and if it interests others in the direction of a greater patriotism—national and Imperial—then indeed the author will be more than satisfied.

CHAPTER I

HISTORICAL

A FULL history of the birth and growth of the original British Colonies would not assist the object of this book, for our work is with the future, and so much lies before us on the horizon that time will not permit of our looking back. It is necessary, however, to bear in mind the genesis of the British Empire.

Love of adventure and travel mostly called our people overseas, love of space and desire for enterprise kept them there. There was no method in British emigration; it was spasmodic and natural, and groups of British citizens built up small communities in all the fairest unoccupied lands of the globe. Sometimes they followed the military occupation of the country, sometimes they preceded it, but more often they secured undisputed possession of their lands without any military assistance from the Motherland, and often

themselves subdued the hostile elements which they encountered.

It is well to remember, therefore, that frequently the original obligation was to the Colonies and not to the Mother-country, as some insular Britons are inclined to think, for vast tracts of country were added to the British Empire owing to the magnificent enterprise and the dogged courage of our original colonists.

The later colonists and the present Dominion citizens, however, will freely admit that the great development of their countries was made possible owing to the security which British arms gave them; for, freed from the burden of taxation for defence, and immune from attack, their infant industries have sprung up and thriven, and the whole of their energy has been given to the arts of peace under the sheltering wing of the British fleet.

Nothing, however, can be more invidious than to weigh in the scales the past services of the Mother-country to the Colonies, or, conversely, of the Colonies to the Mother-country. The fact remains that the British Empire owes its genesis largely to the unaided efforts of the original colonists, and that whilst the Mother-country has given much blood and treasure in defending the

Empire from attack, yet it has been a magnificent investment, for the people of the Empire have proved our best customers, and but for the commerce which they have encouraged with the United Kingdom millions of pounds' worth of trade would have been lost to us and unemployment would have been a far greater problem than it is to-day.

The indifference which characterised the attitude of the Mother-country to the Colonies in the early days of their history was amazing, the only interest apparently being in meddling with their affairs and misunderstanding their aspirations; and whilst far from excusing either the moment chosen for the War of Independence, or admitting that the American colonists were wholly justified, we cannot deny that if the Home Government had taken the smallest trouble to understand the American character, that nation with its ninety million inhabitants would to-day have been the right arm of the British Empire. The loss of the American Colonies should at least have roused our people and inspired some machinery for drawing closer the other great Colonies; public opinion, however, continued dead, or, where it existed at all, was merely patronising, and the Colonies remained the little children, as we were pleased to dub them,

to be corrected at our will, and to be encouraged not at all.

Not till the South African war came with its anxieties and losses, not till the spirit of our country was sorely tried, did we ever appreciate the meaning of Empire ; then, in our darkest hours, was witnessed the spectacle of the manhood of the younger countries coming spontaneously to the assistance of the Mother-country in her day of trial.

If the war had accomplished nothing else, it had made the world listen to the call of the blood of the British race, and it found a place in the hearts of Britons at home for the grown brothers overseas which neither time nor stress will obliterate.

And who was it who first turned this fine sentiment into something practical, who was the man who realised that this glorious expression of true Imperialism was something of too great worth to be lost, something worth keeping, holding and strengthening, whatever the risk ? 'The only man of our times who could make such an appeal to his countrymen, the man who had turned the Colonial Office from a sham into one of the greatest departments of the Empire ; the man who gave up everything most dear to the statesman ; the founder of the true British Empire—Mr.

Joseph Chamberlain. From the moment that his guiding hand was at the helm of our Colonial affairs, interest in matters Imperial quickened at home, and a sympathetic response was evident overseas.

The first Colonial Conference was held in 1887, and for the first time the chosen leaders of Empire met in consultation in the Empire's capital; it was an informal gathering of overseas statesmen who attended the Jubilee of Queen Victoria. The Diamond Jubilee was the occasion of the second Conference, and was presided over by Mr. Chamberlain; it was the first real Conference between the Governments of the Empire, although it was expressly described as informal. Its membership was restricted to the Prime Ministers of the Dominions and the representatives of the Colonial Office.

The Coronation of King Edward VII. was the next occasion when the Conference was held, and was followed by the first Conference to which the Prime Ministers were summoned for that special purpose, for hitherto it had only met at a time of national rejoicing.

This, at any rate, was a good start towards a better understanding, and now the Imperial Conference has become a quadrennial gather-

ing, with the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom as its president.

Granted that the discussions at the Imperial Conference have been largely academic in character, and that the economic policy of the Mother-country has been a stumbling block to any real Empire union, yet it is no small feat to have called together the Ambassadors of Empire on equal terms for the exchange of ideas, and one is irresistibly driven to ask the question why these round-table talks should not lead the way to something more real in the direction of Imperial consultation ; but of this more anon.

Since the Chamberlain era began we have seen the Dominion of Canada become yet more united ; the States of Australia federated in the Commonwealth of to-day ; the separate and hostile nations of South Africa joined into the great Union of South Africa ; colonies have disappeared and self-governing Dominions have filled their place ; on all hands union ; on all sides a strengthening of unifying force ; the children have gone, the sister-nations remain. Dare we leave the matter thus to drift ; can we again risk indifference ? Once more the Imperial statesman has answered “ No : we have the chance now, the opportunity may never occur again ” ;

the time for action has arrived, and the situation demands the whole energy of patriots, for the civilised world is begging for admittance at the door of the Dominions.

We can no longer hold aloof.

CHAPTER II

THE WAY

No scheme for closer Empire union can be propounded which will prove acceptable to everyone concerned. No policy can be suggested which will not upset the favoured theories of some, or come into conflict with party views in one or other part of the Empire; the only possible course, therefore, is boldly to advocate a line of action which can be endorsed by the majority of Imperialists throughout the length of the King's dominions.

If we desire success the party cry must be subordinated to the Empire's good, and the party politicians must be appealed to to join in the higher Imperial policy as above all party, for the man who puts the interests of Yorkshire before the interests of England is no patriot, and the man who puts the affairs of England or Wales before Canada or Australia is no true citizen of the Empire.

Once the value of closer Empire union is admitted, once it is proved that all the communities of the Empire stand to gain by that policy, our course is clear; no candidate should be supported for any Empire Parliament by Imperialists unless he will support the Imperial policy; and it is not difficult to prophesy that the anti-Imperial candidates will suffer the same fate as befell the supporters of reciprocity with the United States in Canada, when once the dormant Imperialism of our race is roused.

The possibilities for closer union may be summed up under the following headings:

1. Defence.
2. Trade.
3. Consultation.
4. Communication.
5. Emigration.

The first three subjects are largely interdependent, and each must be dealt with exhaustively in a separate chapter; the last two are not fundamental, but their importance cannot be over-estimated.

A full system of co-operation in defence is largely dependent upon consultation, since it is impossible to conceive that the great self-governing Dominions will for all time place many ships or men at the disposal of

the Mother-country unless they have some voice in their control and disposition.

Similarly a Council of Empire and Defence are both dependent on an Empire trade policy, for the greater the common trade interests, the greater will be the desire for a common defensive policy, and the greater the co-operation in defence the greater the desire to share in its control.

All these questions come back to that community of interests, for, if the nations of the Empire, which at the present time are held together only by tradition and a common throne and flag, find that it is not to their mutual advantage to keep together, no power on earth will prevent them from splitting asunder. Conversely, if the nations of the Empire secure mutual advantages, if each can help the other, and if trade between all is preferential, immediately a community of interest is built up, a common defence policy becomes natural, and a common voice controlling the defence of the Empire becomes essential.

Again, a defensive policy of the Empire to be economical, cohesive and strategically sound, must be based on common understanding, with full and free interchange of views.

Independent navies and different conditions

for the co-operation of fleets may be useless and certainly will be expensive, whilst a united navy, divided into different fleets if need be, but under one supreme command, and a unified strategic policy, will be inexpensive and will certainly be of the utmost Imperial value.

A settled trade policy for the Empire means that the economic forces of the parts will be put to the best use of the whole, that the greatest of modern human ties will be established, and not only will sentiment alone hold us as to-day, but the connection will be of intrinsic value, and the love of Empire will be made the stronger by gratitude for enormous pecuniary gain.

A Council of Empire, great though the difficulties may be in its inception, yet would be of such inestimable advantage for the harmonious working of a defence policy that, if for that reason alone, the trial is worth making without delay.

The lack of communication between the various parts of the Empire, both by transport and cable, is nothing short of a scandal, calling for immediate attention even if the cost be great, though procrastination on the part of the Home Government has made the task immeasurably more difficult than if it had been grappled with even two years ago.

Emigration, the last subject to be treated in this book, is one which merits the attention of every Imperialist. We rear our children at great cost to the State and then we allow them to be driven from our shores with the greatest indifference as to where they go.

Each emigrant who leaves our shores represents so much capital, so much education, so much skill, and yet the Government has never made any attempt to direct emigration under the flag, and in consequence, hundreds of thousands of the best of our people have gone to build up the capital, strength and industry of our fiercest commercial rivals.

The heads of policy outlined in this chapter will be dealt with individually, and the questions raised are not new but very urgent, and since the task is difficult and calls for the best energies of our people, we will first turn to the value of the Empire which makes this policy desirable and will prove that, great though the Empire is to-day, the potential value of the Imperial connection, if we are wise in time, is beyond the wildest dreams of the vast majority of the people, and greater even than the majority of Empire enthusiasts have realised.

CHAPTER III

BRITISH IMPERIAL TRADE : ITS VALUE

A LARGE section of the British public imagine that our great export trade goes chiefly to Germany, the United States, France and other foreign countries, and are wont to regard our trade within the Empire as an almost negligible quantity. It is even suggested by some that if we imitated the fiscal policy of these foreign countries a great blow would be struck at British industry because of possible foreign retaliation.

There are three considerations, however, in this connection worth mentioning :

1. If they retaliated against the United Kingdom these countries would hurt themselves far more than the object of their retaliation, for they already exclude everything that they do not want, whilst we exclude practically none of their produce.

2. A tariff sufficient for establishing Imperial Preference would be diminutive compared to

the highly protective tariffs which are levied against the United Kingdom by foreign countries.

3. The Dominions are already the best customers of the Mother-country, and under a preferential tariff the United Kingdom stands to gain far more trade within the Empire than she could possibly lose in foreign markets.

Once we realise these facts, the fear of offending foreign countries is groundless, but even if the dangers in reality existed, is there any reason why we should hesitate to reciprocate the preference which the Dominions give us, for fear of making Germany angry or bringing frowns to the brow of the Chinaman? This was not the spirit which won for us the Empire.

Let us, however, look at the facts.

The German Empire, with sixty odd million inhabitants, purchases from the United Kingdom now only the same annual value as Australasia with six million inhabitants. In other words, Australasia, separated as it is by 13,000 miles, buys from us as much as the greatest Continental nation situated at our gates, and by the test of population buys eleven times as much from us as the German Empire.

Again, New Zealand and Canada together,

with nine million inhabitants, are buying practically as much from the United Kingdom as the United States with ninety million people; whilst South Africa, with five million people (and only 1,200,000 white inhabitants), purchases more from the Motherland than France, only a score of miles away, with a total population eight times as great, and a white population thirty-three times as great as that of South Africa.

The Indian Empire purchases from the Mother-country £13,000,000 more per annum than any foreign country, and as much as Belgium, Denmark and Holland and Japan put together.

Other British Possessions or Protectorates not mentioned above buy from us goods valued at £26,000,000, or as much as Russia, Spain and Portugal collectively.

These facts should restore the sight of the blindest Little-Englander, and should bring home to the citizens of the United Kingdom the extraordinary value of the Empire's trade.

Putting the labour employed at 50 per cent. of the cost of production, the British Empire is giving £70,000,000 annually in wages to the people of the Mother-country, or, at 28s. per week, is employing a million men all the year round.

It will next be asked whether the Empire is not merely buying its natural share from us, but the answer is that, per head, Britons overseas buy from us in pounds sterling, whilst the other inhabitants of the world buy from us in shillings.

The following figures are instructive :—

PURCHASES FROM THE UNITED KINGDOM PER
HEAD OF POPULATION

BRITISH POSSESSIONS

In 1909.	Per head.		
	£	s.	d.
New Zealand	7	3	7
Australia	5	9	1
Natal	2	18	6
Newfoundland	2	11	6
Cape of Good Hope . .	2	11	4
Canada	2	5	2

FOREIGN COUNTRIES

In 1909.	Per head.		
	£	s.	d.
Belgium	1	9	4
France	0	10	11
Germany	0	10	2
Italy	0	7	2
United States	0	6	10
Spain	0	5	10
Russia	0	1	5

These are the latest complete figures, but there is reason to believe that the comparison

is now still more strikingly in favour of Empire trade, for, on June 3, 1911, in the Imperial Parliament, the President of the Board of Trade informed the Member for Christchurch that the total value of produce and manufactures consigned in 1910 to the certain countries was as follows :

				Per head.		
				£	s.	d.
Canada	.	.	.	2	12	5
Australia	.	.	.	6	4	3
New Zealand	.	.	.	8	3	9
Germany	.	.	.	0	11	4
France	.	.	.	0	11	5
United States	.	.	.	0	6	10

showing that in the last completed year, Canada has increased her purchases per head of population by 7*s.* 3*d.*, Australia by 15*s.* 2*d.*, New Zealand by £1 0*s.* 2*d.*, whilst France has increased by 6*d.*, Germany by 1*s.* 2*d.*, and the United States has stood still. Therefore, it may truly be said that the Dominions are purchasing far more than their natural quantity from the Mother-country, and that we are reaping enormous advantages from our Imperial connection.

No doubt, a fair proportion of the Empire's trade with the Mother-country is due to sentiment and the desire whenever possible to

buy British goods, but the large increase in British Empire trade of recent years is almost entirely due to the trade preference which the Dominions grant to British goods.

The following figures are very instructive :

EXPORTS TO CANADA OF THE PRODUCE AND
MANUFACTURES OF THE UNITED KINGDOM

1892	.	.	.	£6,870,000
1893	.	.	.	6,658,000
1894	.	.	.	6,531,000
1895	.	.	.	5,284,000
1896	.	.	.	5,352,000
1897	.	.	.	5,172,000

Preference first given in 1897.

RISE AFTER PREFERENCE

1898	.	.	.	£5,838,000
1899	.	.	.	6,967,000
1900	.	.	.	7,605,000
1901	.	.	.	7,785,000
1902	.	.	.	10,345,000
1903	.	.	.	11,112,000
1904	.	.	.	10,624,000
1905	.	.	.	11,909,000
1906	.	.	.	13,688,000
1907	.	.	.	17,101,000
1908	.	.	.	12,244,000
1909	.	.	.	15,688,000
1910	.	.	.	19,600,000

These facts have proved conclusively that

our trade was not only unable to hold its own with Canada before the preference was first granted, but that we were actually losing ground and our manufactures were being driven out by those of the United States.

Canada now grants to British goods no less than $33\frac{1}{3}$ per cent. preference over foreign goods, or in other words British goods pay only 13s. 4d. tariff as against 20s. paid on foreign goods.

It is interesting to see how the British wage bill has benefited under the Canadian preference.

Since the preference was first granted British exports to Canada have increased in value by $14\frac{1}{2}$ millions sterling, or roughly speaking the preference now means £7,000,000 in wages annually to the workers of the Mother-country. When it is remembered that it is estimated in the minority report of the Poor Law Commission that an additional £10,000,000 in wages distributed amongst the unemployed would, in good years, solve the question of unemployment, the great gift which Canada yearly presents to the Mother-country may be properly appreciated.

In Australia British trade was on the decline until, in 1909, a large number of British goods were granted a preference of 13 per cent. over foreign goods.

Although the result was disappointing, yet undoubtedly the decline was checked, and in those articles on which a preference was granted the position of British trade was comparatively improved.

In New Zealand the position of British trade has greatly improved with a 10 per cent. preference and the following figures tell their own story :

VALUE (C.I.F.) OF IMPORTS INTO NEW ZEALAND
(In thousands of £'s —,000 omitted)

Year	From United Kingdom and British Colonies and Possessions Thousands				From the United States of America and Germany Thousands
1900	£ 9,130	.	.	.	£1,244
1903	10,648	.	.	.	1,716
1907	14,942	.	.	.	1,777
1909	13,555	.	.	.	1,494
Increase	per cent.				per cent.
1900-1903	16·6	.	.	.	37·9

FIRST PREFERENCE GRANTED IN 1903

Increase	per cent.				per cent.
1903-1907	40·3	.	.	.	3·6
Decrease	per cent.				per cent.
1907-1909	9·3	.	.	.	15·9

(Compiled from statistics on pp. 202, 236 and 237 of the New Zealand Official Year Book, 1910.)

The South African preference of 10 per cent. has not had a fair chance of proving itself owing to the natural reaction after the war, but here again in the last two years there has been an increase in our exports of more than 25 per cent., and there is little doubt that the great increase in trade in 1910, when our exports to South Africa rose from £15,000,000 to £22,000,000 was largely due to the preference.

These facts are sufficient to prove the enormous value of a commercial brotherhood, and show conclusively that if the Dominions raised their preference to the Mother-country, as they have undertaken to do when we reciprocate their policy, British manufacturers and British working-men stand to gain enormous advantages in trade and wages.

We have demonstrated the value of British trade with the Empire, and it is as well to point out here that the more we build up the wealth of the Dominions, the more we contribute to the upkeep of the defensive forces of the Empire and relieve our own burdens in the distant dominions of the King.

To-day the Empire's trade is of vast importance to every man, woman and child in the United Kingdom. Let us briefly consider

what it may mean in the future, provided the British nation seizes the golden opportunity which awaits it.

In 1910 Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa, with a white population of under twenty million inhabitants, purchased from the United Kingdom no less than £80,000,000 worth of goods; that is the position to-day. At the present increase of population in Canada it is estimated that in thirty years her population may exceed that of the Mother-country, and that it may even reach fifty millions. It is a safe estimate that the four great Dominions will at that time total a population of at least sixty million people.

It follows, therefore, that if we keep our comparative position, even without an extended preference, we shall have a trade with these Dominions of £240,000,000, sufficient not only to employ all our present unemployed but any increase in our working population that we can reasonably expect in that period.

With an extended preference in return for the preference we may grant, we may safely hope that that trade will reach £300,000,000 in thirty years' time.

Together with our trade to the Indian Empire and other British Possessions this

would equal more than our total exports to foreign countries to-day.

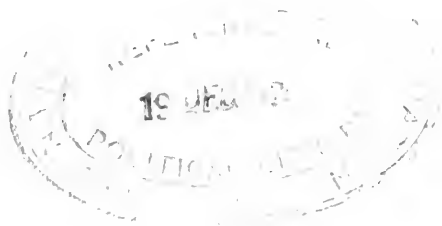
This is the substance, then, which Empire trade offers us, as against the shadow of an economic theory which has long been discarded by every civilised power in the world except ourselves.

We are suffering from grave unrest in every great industry, the workers are feeling the pinch of high prices without any corresponding rise in wages, strikes are threatened on a scale never before seriously considered, and taxation is rising at an alarming rate with a Government in power which was pledged to retrenchment, and yet at our hands is the weapon of Imperial Preference which, with one blow, would strike at the root cause of unemployment, defend manufacturers from unfair competition, and raise the whole level of wages throughout the country.

If our hearts are really touched by the appalling pictures of misery and suffering amongst the poorer classes in the land, then we must grapple with this question at once, else the flame of discontent will burn so fiercely that capital will flee the country, and, worse still, the Dominions will drop the Imperial policy which has meant so much to our happiness and prosperity.

The reciprocity agreement proposed between Canada and the United States was the warning ; and it is evident that all the world is ready to establish with the Dominions trade treaties, which some British statesmen of to-day describe as sordid bonds.

Canada has resisted the great bribe which the United States offered to her, although it had the full approval and support of the Home Government ; she refused it because, to her, Nationalism and the Imperial connection are greater than monetary gain ; but should the Mother-country continue to wallow, intoxicated, in the waters of the parish pump, and refuse to acknowledge the glorious stand for Empire union which Canada has made, then indeed our priceless heritage is gone, then indeed our ingratitude will drive the Britons overseas into the arms of the foreigner, and we shall thoroughly deserve our fate.



CHAPTER IV

PREFERENCE : OPPONENTS' OBJECTIONS

IT is not intended in this short work to go into minute details with regard to a preferential tariff, and the policy can therefore be summarised somewhat as follows :

1. A duty of two shillings a quarter to be imposed on all foreign corn. British corn grown either in the Mother-country or the Dominions to be free of duty.

2. A duty averaging 5 per cent. on all agricultural produce imported from countries without the Empire.

3. A preference to be granted to all Imperial products other than the above which come under the British tariffs.

This policy is simple and straightforward, and the object of this chapter is to prove how groundless, and indeed utterly base, are the objections which opponents have made, and apparently are still making, to the policy.

That the proposals for Imperial Preference

are popular in the United Kingdom will be admitted by all those who have had the good fortune to expound them to the public; but they became so popular that one party in the State immediately saw that unless some mighty falsehood was invented the policy would sweep the country. Hence the infamous invention of the "dear food" lie.

There is not a Free Trader of any intelligence who ever believed that Preference would make food dearer; and indeed there is hardly a Free Trader who has not at one time or another warned British agriculturists that Preference would bring such an abundant supply of cheap corn to this country that the prices obtained by the British farmer would suffer.

We need not discuss, however, how these gentlemen can reconcile their statements, or how they obtained that elasticity of conscience which permits them, for their mean party ends, to degrade themselves by advancing that which they know to be false.

Let us state our case, and prove its unanswerable logic. We desire to secure for our hungry millions the surplus wheat supplies of the Empire, and to promote the growth of British-grown wheat; we therefore propose to give a small preference of 3*d*

a bushel to British Empire-grown corn. It is admitted by all Tariff Reformers and most Free Traders that the policy of Preference will stimulate the growth of corn in the British Empire.

If more corn is grown in the British Empire there will be more corn on the market of the world.

If there is more corn on the market of the world how dare the opponents of Preference insult the intelligence of the electors by suggesting that wheat will be dearer?

The more of a commodity you produce in the world the cheaper it becomes, for such is the law of supply and demand.

Again, if a taxed commodity is in competition with an untaxed commodity, should the taxed producers raise their price the untaxed producers will obtain the whole of the trade, providing they have the capacity to produce.

The British Empire has the capacity to produce as much wheat as the United Kingdom requires a dozen times over. Again, let us suppose, for the sake of argument, that all wheat was raised in price by 2s. per quarter, what would be the result to the consumer? When Mr. William Patten, two years ago, cornered the American wheat supply, he succeeded in driving the price of all wheat up by

6s. a quarter, and yet the price of the British loaf was raised only one half-penny a loaf.

Wheat has varied in price in Great Britain during the last ten years by 12s. per quarter and the price of the loaf has varied only by nine-tenths of a penny.¹

The suggestion that 2s. per quarter levied only on foreign wheat in competition with free home-grown and Colonial wheat could raise the price of that cereal is so conclusively false that no honest man should be guilty of making it. Yet this is undoubtedly the only reason why Preference has so far failed, because "dear food" has been the blatant, cruel and unscrupulous war-cry of the whole of the Free Trade orators from the paid tub-thumper to the Prime Minister.

The Free Traders were returned to power as the champions of cheap food, and, ever since their return, food has been steadily rising in price, and the fiction that free imports mean cheap food is completely exposed.

Now let us consider the course the Government took with regard to American reciprocity with Canada and its bearing upon this ques-

¹ These facts were given by the President of the Board of Trade to the Member for Christchurch in the House of Commons, 1911.

The average price of wheat during the years 1900-1910 varied by 12s. per quarter, and the price of the quartern loaf by 9d.

tion. From the first the British Government joined the conspiracy with President Taft in support of the agreement, which was in Mr. Taft's words: "The last chance of preventing British Imperial Union." The Home Government gave their warm support to the agreement, and indeed Mr. Bryce, whose opinions on this subject were well-known, if not the actual originator of the whole question, undoubtedly gave his active assistance from the beginning to those who were seizing this "last chance of preventing the Imperial Union of the British Empire." In the House of Commons Ministers considered that it was most desirable that the trucks should go south with Canadian corn and return laden with American manufactures, regardless of the fact that every additional truck that went south meant a truck less to go east and west and a consequent increase in the demand for Canadian wheat, which in turn meant an increase in the Canadian price.

No one was surprised that the erst-while cheap-loafers would use all their influence to bring the food of the British Empire into the sphere of American Trust operations, because this policy is after all quite consistent with the policy of always helping the foreigner at the expense of their own countrymen, but one

would at least have expected them to remember, according to their famous dictum, that goods are paid for by goods, that every truck of wheat which was diverted south from the east to west traffic would have come back laden with American goods to the displacement of similar products from Great Britain. The British Government however, regardless of the British consumers or artisans, nailed its flag to the American mast and find themselves answered by the overwhelming vote of the Canadian people.

One more word to the "big-loaf" party in Great Britain. Mr. J. J. King, the railway magnate of the United States, made his appeal to the citizens of the United States on the ground that if British Preference was carried American farmers would have to accept less for their wheat which was consigned to the United Kingdom.

Could anything be more instructive to the British Free Fooder?

Again, the Official Report to Congress read as follows: "Canada is underselling the wheat of the United States in the British market, and the reciprocity agreement would mean raising the price of wheat at Liverpool."

For this, then, the "poor man's friend" in Great Britain conspired with the United States

to secure for American farmers a higher price for wheat in Liverpool, as was admirably explained by Senator Carter in the American Senate as follows :

“The more influential we, the United States, become at fixing the price at which wheat, including North American, is sold in competition with that of other sections of the world, the greater is the ultimate benefit to the producer of wheat in the United States.”

These statements demonstrate finally the fact that, in the interest of every consumer in Great Britain, the only way to prevent the rise in price of wheat is to make sure of the wheat supplies of the British Empire.

The population of the United States is slowly but surely overtaking its wheat supply. The great Eastern communities of China and Japan are beginning to consume wheat, and the demand for Canadian wheat will increase every year ; it is therefore essential that we shall keep our hold on the Canadian and other Imperial wheat-fields, and this can only be done by means of a Preference on Imperial-grown wheat. To continue our present policy means the certainty of dearer wheat, whilst to establish a Preference within the Empire will make the difference in the amount of freight

between the Dominions and foreign countries, and make our markets more accessible to our citizens overseas, thus tending to secure for our seething population a continuous supply of abundant and cheap wheat. The more wheat we buy within the Empire the greater the advantage to the British race, for the process of wheat-growing includes the labour of ploughing, reaping, harvesting, thrashing and handling the grain,

It means the greater use of British rails and British shipping, and finally it means increasing employment in British mills. By attracting to our shores, therefore, a greater proportion of British-grown wheat, the British Empire will be benefited in a hundred ways and the purchasing power of our best buyers, who dwell in the Empire, will be enormously increased.

The loaf will be just as big, only it will be a British loaf, and many millions of pounds will be spent in the British Empire, to be used to our advantage, instead of in foreign countries to our possible disadvantage and to the assistance of our commercial and military competitors.

CHAPTER V

DEFENCE

PART I.—THE MOTHER-COUNTRY

THE question of Defence has been divided into two parts, one dealing with the Mother-country and the other with the position of the Dominions, and the present chapter is devoted entirely to the first consideration.

The British fleet at the present time is generally believed to be in a high state of efficiency, but the Admiralty system has for a long time been exercising the minds of those who realised that the control of the fleet was not all that could be desired. Happily, a naval War-staff has now been created, which should be a great improvement in the administration of naval affairs and should make impossible that lack of preparedness which has from time to time been whispered about and which has caused the greatest anxiety.

The naval War-staff, if it fulfils our hopes,

will place the navy in a state of absolute preparedness for war, both strategically and with regard to supply, and will make scares with regard to shortage of ammunition, coals, stores, etc., an impossibility in the future. This change is all to the good.

The recent concentration of Great Britain's naval power in Home waters is undoubtedly a wise policy, for it is practically certain that the naval battles of the future will be fought by massed fleets, each belligerent endeavouring to put every available ship into action simultaneously so as to avoid defeat in detail. At the same time, the absence of British ships from distant stations has had a bad moral effect from the trade point of view. This weakening of British prestige will not, however, continue if the fleet units of the Dominions show the flag in different parts of the world, as is suggested in the subsequent chapter.

The great question with regard to the navy is that of the standard of strength, and the task of British Governments will be made far easier if it is generally recognised that the policy of Great Britain is to lay down two keels to every one laid down by the next strongest power, and this standard must apply to every class of ship, plus a margin of commerce protectors for the Mediterranean and

other seas which are without the sphere of operations of the Home and Dominion fleets.

The policy of fleet units for the Dominions, on the other hand, will greatly relieve the strain of commerce protection in distant seas. One more word with regard to the navy, and that is this: in the opinion of the writer the policy of contribution by the Dominions to the maintenance of the Imperial fleet, with a voice in its control, is the ideal naval policy of the Empire; we are not, however, dealing with ideals, and so long as any of the Dominions continue their policy of separate fleet units let us be grateful for what they are prepared to do, and endeavour to secure that such fleet units are of real value, as suggested in the next chapter.

THE ARMY

The weak spot in the defence of the Empire to-day is undoubtedly the inadequacy of the military forces of the Mother-country. On the United Kingdom falls the duty, and it must be so for many years, if not always, of providing the striking force for land warfare in any part of the world. It is absolutely essential, therefore, that the British Regular army shall be fit and ready at any given

moment to go to any part of the world in which its services may be required.

The freedom of the Regular army to strike is absolutely dependent upon the ability of the people of the Mother-country, first, to defend themselves against any possible invasion during the absence of the striking force; and, secondly, to be able to provide sufficient reserves to fill the gaps in the Regular army from the moment it leaves the United Kingdom until the completion of the campaign. Neither of these essentials do we possess, and a continuance of the present system is nothing short of a crime—it is gambling with Fate.

The worst criticism of the Regular army that one can make is in connection with its size, which, when compared to that of all the military Powers of the world, is so insignificant as almost not to count, and, except from the point of moral effect, it is doubtful if the British army to-day would make any appreciable difference if it took part in a struggle on the Continent between the two greatest European Powers.

The smallness of the army, however, is not so serious as the fact that there is nothing to replenish the wastage of war, and, unless something is done, it will be impossible to keep

even 150,000 trained men in the field for any length of time.

It is, then, with the Third line that we have to deal, and this is the crux of the whole military system. Before discussing the Territorial army, and proposing a change, it would be well to consider whether a citizen army is necessary for the defence of the United Kingdom. If the extreme "Blue-water" theory is a correct one, then, apart from the question of reserves for the army and the policing of the country in time of war, the Territorial army is a useless encumbrance. But, admitting, in the first place, that we may again have to fight a European Power as we have so often done before, and, in the second place, that it is possible for a hostile force to invade our shores, then a citizen army, and an efficient one, is a vital necessity.

Before seriously considering the policy of universal service, it becomes necessary to prove the possibility of one or both of the foregoing events happening.

In the first place, there has rarely been a Continental war in which England has not been compelled to take part, and recent history has proved conclusively that, with our treaty obligations to uphold, we are just as likely to be drawn into a European conflict as

in the past. During the Moroccan crisis, now happily past, it was taken for granted that, in the event of war, a British army corps would have been dispatched to the Continent, and this at a time when a large proportion of the Regular troops were engaged in defending the property and liberty of the people against the strikers.

Here, then, is one reason for the establishment of a Territorial army on an efficient basis.

Again, supposing our fleet were occupied in fighting at a distance from our shores, it is not inconceivable that a neutral Power would seize the opportunity to invade our shores, covering an invasion with its whole concentrated fleet, and appearing in British waters before war had been declared, or was even expected. No foreign strategist, from Julius Cæsar to Napoleon, and from Napoleon to the present day, considered the invasion of Great Britain impossible ; it is only the unarmed and untrained British people who hold a view to the contrary.

Lastly, we ignore the teaching of history, and forget that it is not certain that we may only have to fight one or two countries. Trouble between Canada and America, or India and Russia, would afford an opportunity

to our rivals on the Continent which they might not be slow to take advantage of, for the conditions would be far more encouraging to them than at the time of the Boer war, when they did not hesitate to proclaim their feelings.

In such circumstances, as in the past, England might find herself fighting half the world at an increased disadvantage, namely, that whereas in 1801 the British navy was superior to the combined forces of all Europe, to-day the issue would be doubtful between ourselves and the two next greatest Powers.

These facts tend to show that to rely solely on the fleet is the height of folly, and that it is essential that we should have a large and efficient force with which to defend the country against any possible invasion.

With the foregoing considerations before us let us examine the present Territorial force.

When Lord Haldane introduced his scheme for the Territorial army, he laid down certain minimum essentials as to the training, efficiency, shooting and numbers of the Territorial force. In every single instance the force has fallen short of the minimum requirements for safety as laid down by the War Minister.

The force has existed for four years, and

here is the result of the last completed year of the four years' service.

Establishment	Strength	Deficiency
314,000	264,000	50,000

Out of the total force only 155,300 completed the fifteen days' training demanded.

The force is 1,800 officers short of the proper establishment.

Only 30 per cent. succeeded in passing the standard test in shooting, forty officers and 6,703 men were absent from camp without leave.

When it is remembered that a fortnight's training in camp and ten parades of one hour in addition is all that is asked of the Territorial soldier, the hopeless state of the force may be realised.

There are, it is true, a few battalions of infantry, a few regiments of cavalry, and perhaps two batteries which do show a wonderful result considering the amount of service; but when you find one unit which possibly might just pass for service you will find fifty whose dispatch to the front would be nothing but murder. Lord Haldane himself admits that this force of his own creation would be unfit to meet Regular troops until they had received six months' war training—

after the outbreak of war. But does even a lawyer imagine that he is going to receive a polite letter from a foreign Government warning him to mobilize the 'Territorial force, as war will be declared in six months' time after the receipt of the said epistle ?

If invasion ever takes place it will be sudden, sharp, decisive and absolutely unexpected, otherwise invasion will not be attempted. Consider then the position. The whole of the Regular army may be engaged abroad (as in the time of the South African war, when only a few composite and provisional battalions with recruits and details were left in England). Seventy thousand foreign troops arrive off the East Coast, and there would be no force in the country which the invaders could not march through with ease. By the time the invading force was thoroughly established it is possible that some hastily collected battalions in the immediate vicinity and one or two Regular battalions might be enabled to intercept them and delay their advance for an hour or so, but not for more.

It is unnecessary, however, to discuss how far the enemy will get ; it is quite sufficient to state that if once a hostile force was landed anywhere in England the financial panic would cost the country more in a day than the up-

keep of an efficient system of national service would cost in a hundred years.

What then must we have in the place of the present Territorial force ?

Something which is much more efficient, and of such numbers as to make up for the difference in efficiency between a citizen army and the conscript soldiers of a foreign Power.

The first step of all is that every boy in the land shall, whilst at school, do half an hour's drill every day, physical and military alternately. The latter would include aiming drill and the use of arms. During the last two years of his school life he must go through a moderate course of rifle practice at a miniature rifle range. On leaving school he should receive a certificate stating that he had fired a requisite course of musketry ; if his eyesight was defective, or if he was physically unfit to undergo the regular drill, it should be mentioned on the certificate. On leaving their elementary schools every effort should be made to keep the lads interested in military affairs. Rifle-clubs, Boy Scouts, and the excellent Boys' Brigades, which are now happily so common, should be expressly encouraged if not actually assisted.

In the case of boys leaving secondary

schools the problem is easier. Boys remain at the latter two or three years longer than at the elementary schools, and most of the secondary schools have, or should have, cadet corps. On leaving school the lads should be encouraged to remain in the cadet corps of their own or some other school till they attain the age of eighteen years.

Granted that we possess a Regular army on the present lines, our first duty is to provide a force that will feed that army.

This can be done as follows :¹

1. The Special Reserve liable for service abroad.

2. Territorial Cavalry with special conditions of service.

3. Territorial Infantry, Garrison Artillery, Engineers, Transport Corps, Medical Corps, etc., on the lines of the existing force, service in which will be compulsory.

1. The Special Reserve will be maintained in its present form, but will be more efficient because the recruits who now have to spend so much of their time upon the barrack square, will have learnt discipline, drill and the first elements of shooting at school, and will therefore be able to devote most of their annual

¹ A similar scheme was outlined by the author in "The New Order."

training to field practice and the higher arts of war.

Officers who qualify for, and men who join the Special Reserve at the age of eighteen will be excused service in the Territorial force, as explained hereafter.

The Special Reserve ranks would be fed by those members of the Territorial force who, having found a taste for soldiering, desired to continue their service. The writer estimates that the Special Reserve would number at least 100,000 men under this scheme.

It is probable that many gentlemen who do not at present serve would join the commissioned ranks of the Special Reserve as an alternative to serving in the Territorial army.

2. The Territorial Cavalry would serve five years as a minimum, with five years in the Reserve. Like the Special Reserve they would be under military law. In order to attract the best class of men, who are also able to provide their own horses, all Territorial Cavalry men would be excused compulsory service in the Territorial Infantry. It would, however, be necessary for them to serve one month annually for five consecutive years; and to serve a course of two months during their first year at a cavalry dépôt.

The recruits would join at the age of

eighteen, at which time it would be necessary for them to present their school certificates for efficiency in shooting.

As in the case of Territorial Infantry, they would shoot a course annually between the ages of eighteen and thirty.

All men in this force would be liable to serve, after the completion of their five years, as cavalry for home defence in the event of the mobilisation of the Territorial Reserve in times of great national crisis.

The Territorial Cavalry would find no difficulty in securing officers and men. There are many who would much prefer to compress their training into a month each year for five years rather than serve continuously in the evenings for two years in the infantry after the manner explained in the next paragraph.

3. With the exception of those serving in some other branch of the military forces of the the Crown,¹ every young man in the country should, if physically fit, join the Territorial army on attaining the age of eighteen and

¹ This includes the Special Reserve, Territorial Cavalry and Naval Reserve. In addition, bona fide members of the Mercantile Marine would be excused the training, but would be liable for service in the Royal Navy when all the Reserves had been called out.

Ministers of religion of all denominations, the Police, and workers in Government arsenals and docks would also be exempt,

undergo two years' military training, such training to consist of one-and-a-half-hour's drill or field work on four evenings every week, five afternoons each year for shooting, and fourteen days in camp for battalion exercise, or in a fortress for instruction as garrison artillery.

The Territorial army would be liable to be embodied in time of stress, and would be available for home defence. It is claimed for this scheme :

(a) That it will provide an effective fighting force for home defence.

(b) That it will not dislocate the commerce of the country.

(c) That it will give every able-bodied man a man's share of citizenship without injuring or interfering with his profession or trade.

(d) That it will improve the physique and character of the British people.

The training outlined above would, with the exception of the period of residence in camp, take place locally, as is at present the case with the Territorials. Drill centres would be formed in every town, and in those villages which are sufficiently large to form companies. Where groups of villages were in easy reach of each other, drill centres would be formed in the

most central. In very scattered parts villagers who were unable to attend drills would perform three years' service with the Special Reserve as a minimum.

It is estimated by the National Service League returns on the basis of the 1901 census that 125,000 lads on an average will annually become liable for service. The country would, therefore, always have a Territorial army of 250,000 home-defence men actually undergoing training, with a reserve of some 1,800,000 men over twenty years of age and under thirty-six. The whole of this force would be efficient shots and far more highly trained than the present Territorial army. The British army, which now costs double that of any other Power, could be largely decreased in infantry and consequently in cost. And it would then be ready to leave the country immediately to fight in any part of the world; and at the same time we should have in reserve the Special Reserve, probably 100,000 strong, and the Territorial Cavalry, some 30,000, both also liable for immediate service abroad. And in addition there would be a home force capable of providing unlimited drafts of highly trained citizen soldiers who would volunteer in large numbers at the outbreak of war, as the British citizen has always

done in the past. But under the above citizen army scheme the Territorial would be a trained man utterly different from the citizen soldier who volunteered towards the end of the South African war, who could not shoot, and whose knowledge of practical field work was necessarily nil.

Any one who knows the Territorial force will agree with the writer that, splendid and willing though the material may be, the discipline of the force can never be what it ought unless military law be applied from the beginning of their training. Therefore, it is essential that the men of the Territorial army should be subject to military law whenever on parade.

The regimental staff required for this force would be :

One drill instructor specially selected from the Regular army for every company of 100 men.

One lieutenant-colonel on full pay for every Territorial regiment of ten companies (1000 men).

Two majors on half pay for each regiment.

One adjutant on full pay.

Five acting-captains, being subalterns of the Regular army and receiving subalterns' pay.

Five captains promoted from the Territorial

subalterns who would receive £50 per annum and all camp expenses, etc.

The last-mentioned five company officers in each battalion would be raised from the existing Territorial material. Having duly qualified for the rank of captain in tactics and drill, as in the army, they would receive £50 a year each and all expenses incurred in camp, etc.

By this means professional men able to follow any civil avocation in the daytime would be encouraged to serve their country out of business hours, with a return for their services. At the same time this method secures that their services may be easily dispensed with should they prove inefficient, since they are professional soldiers.

They would also be required to attend a month's course, either at the schools or with a regular battalion, once every three years. For this month they would receive full captain's pay.

The subaltern officers would receive £25 a year and expenses. They would be enrolled for three years in the Territorial army as a minimum, and fourteen years in the Reserve (up to the age of 35).

All subaltern officers would have to qualify for their rank by passing an examination in minor tactics and drill before they attained

the age of 18. This would excuse them service in the ranks and give them a commission.

Any of the above-mentioned civilian officers who can pass the usual service examination for field officers would be eligible for such rank, general efficiency and competence to command being taken into consideration.

At first the non-commissioned ranks of the Territorial army would be supplied from the corresponding ranks of the present Territorial force. These men would receive a small rate of pay, sufficient to encourage them to remain in the service under its altered conditions. They would gradually be succeeded by men from the Territorial ranks, in a manner to be described hereafter. By this means the pick of our present Territorial force would be utilised until, in the natural course of events, they retired.

It is suggested that :

Non-commissioned officers should receive 2*s.* 6*d.* per week and 3*d.* for every parade attended.

Every private in the Territorial army should receive 3*d.* per day and a plain suit of uniform. All expenses in camp or garrison would be defrayed by the Government.

On attaining the age of twenty years, and

having served in the Territorial army for two years, every man would pass into the Territorial Reserves. His only further liability would be a short course of musketry every year until the age of 35 years. After that date he would be free.

On passing into the Reserve a certain number of men would be allowed to volunteer for further service in the Territorial army. Those specially qualified would be selected for service as non-commissioned officers in the Territorial army; and these would thus supersede the non-commissioned officers attached from the present force. These appointments would certainly be eagerly sought after, and it would therefore be possible to select the very best men in every company. Non-commissioned officers would retire at 35, and thus a stream of promotion would be ensured.

Besides the Territorial non-commissioned officers, the Territorial Reserve would have to provide transport, ambulance corps, pioneers, etc., the details as to which may safely be left open for the present.

No one would be allowed to buy himself off. On the contrary, a proportional poll tax would be levied on the medically unfit according to their means, although those whose total income was less than £100 a year would be

exempt. In the case of those who are healthy but unfit to march or stand the strain of a campaign, employment would be found in time of invasion. Thus, a man who was flat-footed might be told off as a transport driver, and a bricklayer or a bricklayer's labourer as assistant to the Royal Engineers; and, similarly, blacksmiths, veterinary surgeons, doctors and cooks would be, on the strength of the Territorial army, and would be called up to fulfil their duties wherever mobilisation might take place and their services be needed.

The great advantage of this scheme is that the existing Territorial machinery will be employed and the present sham force will be turned into a real thing. The enormous advantage of having the boys of the country trained and disciplined would mean that little time need be wasted in preliminaries, and instead of doing ten drills in the year the Territorial soldier would be constantly at work in the drill hall, on the square, in the field, and route marching.

The result is that the companies would arrive for the battalion training in a comparatively good state of efficiency, and what is more they would arrive fit. The whole of the annual training could, therefore, be devoted to battalion, brigade or divisional training.

Severe criticism will certainly be directed against this scheme. It may, therefore, be well to attempt to meet some of the inevitable objections in advance. It will probably be said that this is too drastic a change. To this I answer that the present system, however tinkered, has never been, and never will be, a success; therefore, any change must be revolutionary. Again, it may be urged that nothing short of conscription is any use. I reply that there is no likelihood of any party in the State advocating a system such as exists in Germany or France, yet by this scheme every individual would bear his part in the defence of his country, and no man would lose his work or suffer professionally thereby.

Others will say that this scheme introduces militarism into the country. I answer that if there are nearly 2,000,000 men trained to arms in the British Isles, apart from the Regular army, war will become far less probable than it is now, when our weakness is a temptation to any strong, aggressive Power.

And, finally, if it be loss to learn the art of serving one's king and country, even the extreme faddists will have to admit that the character of the British race will gain, in that its manhood will learn discipline and acquire

steadiness, whilst the physique of the nation will be greatly improved.

It will be asked how sufficient Regular officers can be found to supply the needs of the Territorial army. To this I will answer that, if promotion is much quickened, there will be far more men who will take commissions and far fewer officers, many of whom to-day have no chance of command, will leave the service after a few years as hundreds are now doing. Again, when universal service is the rule, the commissioned ranks will be greatly sought after by every person with any ambition.

With regard to auxiliary field artillery, the complete failure of the Territorial batteries makes one hesitate to advocate a fresh attempt, but either Territorial artillery will have to be trained on the same lines as Territorial infantry, as outlined in this chapter—in which case the extra training laid down would show an improvement—or else we must face a large increase in Regular batteries.

Universal service exists in Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa, and here is the opportunity for the Mother-country to show that she, too, realises her responsibilities.

Here we have the beginnings of a great Imperial army. Each Dominion will have

a scheme of defence, carefully planned with the assistance of the Imperial General-staff, and will be competent to resist any sudden raid, and for the first time the British Imperial Regular army would be free to concentrate at any given point of special danger.

So long as the manhood of the Empire is prepared to learn the first duty of citizenship, namely that of rendering to its country and King some small service in the days of youth, then the British fleet—the first arm of the Empire—will be free to watch and guard its interests and attack its foes wherever they may appear.

By this means alone can the striking force of the Empire, both naval and military, be freed for that decisive and immediate work which settles the fate of nations and which preserves for the strong security and peace.

CHAPTER VI

DEFENCE

PART II.—DOMINION CO-OPERATION

THE Diamond Jubilee Conference in 1897 may be said to be the starting-point of the Imperial Defence movement, for it was then that Mr. Chamberlain made clear that defence was the most important "common interest" of the Empire, and he it was who first raised the whole question of Imperial contributions.

It is fully admitted that up to this time the Dominions, through force of circumstances, had been unable to contribute in any way proportionately to the upkeep of the defence of the Empire, but the Colonial Premiers were practically unanimous that they were unwilling to share in the control of the burdens of Empire, as this would mean a "proportionate contribution in aid of Imperial expenditure."

It was agreed that the Mother-country should continue to bear the whole responsi-

bility of naval defence, whilst the Colonies should do what they could in the way of land defence. The decision of the Conference was disappointing, and yet it bore important fruit, for there was a quickening of interest in questions of defence, the eyes of the Empire overseas were opened to the great danger of indifference upon this vital question, and there is no doubt that a great feeling spread through the Colonies that the defence of the Empire was not a matter which could always be left to the United Kingdom, and that it intimately affected the national existence of the British race.

This feeling was given decisive expression at the time of the South African war, when the most wonderful sight was witnessed of the scattered peoples of the British race spontaneously sending large contingents of troops thousands of miles to the seat of war. Our quarrel became their quarrel, our honour their honour, and the British peoples all over the globe decided to stand or fall by the Mother-country.

It was not the intrinsic value of the troops, though that was great, which counted so much; it was the moral effect of a unity of purpose which for the first time was displayed, it was the real birth of the Empire

spirit, it was a demonstration to the world that the "Throne and Flag" of the Britons was a force which could galvanize the scattered parts into a living whole.

The war had a further effect, which has altered the whole standpoint of the Imperial Defence problem. Hitherto contributions in money to the Imperial Parliament was the almost accepted idea of Colonial assistance, while from the war onward, such was the awakening of the national pride of the Colonies, that it was evident that such monetary contributions were no longer popular; they had sent men to the war, they would send them again, and they might even send ships.

At the following Conference, 1903, this was made plain. Mr. Chamberlain asked for a more effectual recognition "of the obligation of all to contribute to the common weal." Lord Selborne, for the Admiralty, pointed out that "not less than one-fourth of the Empire trade," which the Imperial navy had to protect, was trade in which "we had no interest either as buyer or seller."

Australia, New Zealand, Cape Colony, and Natal decided to give contributions, but Canada refused on the grounds that she "contemplated the establishment of a local

navy." Thus, for the first time, a Colony proposed an independent naval force and the co-operative idea of defence, as against contribution and concentration.

In 1906, when the Radical party were once more returned to power after a long period of wandering in the wilderness, they decided greatly to reduce the British navy, and took their suggestion of the reduction of armaments to the Hague Conference. In the light of recent history the folly of this proceeding has been amply demonstrated: the peaceful utterances of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman at once gave new life to the ambitions of the Powers, and, in fact, it may be said that this peaceful crusade succeeded only in loosening the dogs of war, and opened a period of naval rivalry which is now the most deplorable phase of modern civilisation. Once again it is amply proved that peace can only be the lot of the strong man armed, but of this more later.

The Conference of 1907 showed a yet further movement in the direction of co-operation, for New Zealand alone held to the desirability of contribution to the Imperial Exchequer, and Australia declared for the principle of a local naval force. An important decision was come to with regard to the formation of an

Imperial General-staff. It is true that it was only for advisory purposes, but nevertheless Mr. Haldane should receive the gratitude of all Imperialists for establishing this link, which has had most excellent results throughout the Empire, as also for his persuasive eloquence in the direction of an Imperial third line of defence, a policy which some of the Dominions have hastened to adopt, thus strengthening undoubtedly the military position of the Empire.

In 1908 Europe was once more on the verge of war, owing to the violation of the Treaty of Berlin by Austria in the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and this was closely followed by Germany's answer to the peaceful platitudes of the British Government. The secret acceleration of the German fleet brought about a rude awakening throughout the British Empire. Ministers themselves had to utter such grave warnings that the Empire became thoroughly roused, and the crisis resulted again in proving the solidity of the Imperial connection. New Zealand and Australia spontaneously offered a Dreadnought each, New Zealand adding that she was prepared to supply a second if necessary.

This manifestation of loyalty in times of apparent peace was perhaps even more striking

than that displayed during the South African war; and when it is remembered that New Zealand's offer meant considerably more than £2 per head of taxation, or more than double the amount of the annual naval taxation per head of the Mother-country, the greatness of her action may receive the gratitude it deserves.

Closely following this crisis Australia decided on her policy of a local navy, and Australia and New Zealand also decided on universal military service, whilst Canada declared for a Canadian naval service.

In 1909 a special Defence Conference was summoned, when the Imperial Government formally gave its support to the policy of "distinct fleet units" for the Dominions, pointing out that it was a "sine qua non that successful action in time of war depends upon unity of command and direction."

Canada laid down that her naval forces must be divided on her two sea-boards, and did not make any decision about control in time of war; she, however, determined to acquire five cruisers and six destroyers. Australia accepted the principle of a fleet unit, laying down that in peace time, "this fleet unit would be under the exclusive control of the Commonwealth Government," and agreed that in war-

time the fleet should be under the control of the Naval Commander-in-Chief. New Zealand agreed that the New Zealand Dreadnought should be the flag-ship of a China-New Zealand fleet unit of the British navy, and decided to contribute £100,000 per annum of the squadron's upkeep. South Africa could make no announcement pending the completion of the Union.

The Conference further decided that “each part of the British Empire is willing to make such preparations as will enable it, should it so desire, to take its own share in the defence of the Empire.”

The important fact of their decision was that “unity of command” was not guaranteed, and the Dominion Act lays down that the Dominion Government “may” place the fleet unit at the disposal of the Imperial Government. Australia, it is true, decided to do so “in time of war,” but Sir Wilfrid Laurier said that it was not desirable for Canada “to mix in the armaments of the Empire,” and that Canada would take part in Imperial wars “only if they think fit to do so.”

Although the Conference was eminently satisfactory from national points of view, it was far from satisfactory from an Imperial standpoint, since “may” and “if they think”

are words that destroy at once the cohesive value of the overseas fleets.

We should fail in our duty if we did not face this question and frankly point out the absurdity of the Dominion policy as it at present stands, but before offering any criticism let us repeat what was said in a previous chapter: "Co-operation in defence is dependent upon community of interest in trade; establish community of interest and you get the desire for co-operation in defence."

As the Imperial position stands, there is not any real reason why the Dominions should go to any great expense upon fleets and then put them at the disposal of the predominant partner without any voice in their control. Once more, therefore, it is evident that "reciprocity" in the broadest sense is essential if the military "machine" of the Empire is to be made to work by the linking up of the several parts. The present policy is expensive and strategically inefficient, and whereas the Mother-country must, and is ready to, take part in any war for the defence of Canada and Australia, Canada and Australia "may" if they think fit assist the Mother-country or may remain neutral.

This seems to be a one-sided arrangement

which can only be compared to the fiscal arrangements of the Empire, by which the Dominions give a trade preference to the Mother-country, whilst she refuses to extend a preference to them.

Both policies are opposed to true Empire union, both must be altered if the Empire is to be maintained.

Now let us consider the methods at present being adopted. The Canadian fleet is to be divided into two half-fleet units, thus her sea power is halved for effective purposes.

The Australian fleet unit is combined and may be ready to co-operate.

The New Zealand Dreadnought is the flagship of the China-New Zealand fleet unit.

South Africa has as yet no fleet unit or part of a fleet unit.

It is evident that, despite the fine national sentiment which has prompted the Dominions, the fleets they are acquiring are not, and will not be for many a year, fit to meet any single Power, and therefore it is clear that, if they are intended to be a real insurance against war, they must be so distributed and so organised as to make an effective unit of an effective whole; otherwise they are a useless extravagance.

Again, it is quite possible that national pride

may determine upon a small fleet of various types, and we may find an Australian fleet of the future of one Dreadnought battleship, one Dreadnought cruiser, two second-class cruisers and so on, yet as an effective force this might be of very little use.

For this reason the following suggestion is made, and it is only offered in the spirit of friendship, so that the nations of the British race may spend their money to the best possible use :

That the fleet units, as far as possible, be of one type and one speed.

That they be so disposed as to concentrate as quickly as possible.

That their concentration is disposed for attack, which is the best form of defence.

That a Council of Defence is established, consisting of representatives of all Dominions, in order that the fleets of the Empire may move simultaneously without referring to the various Dominion Parliaments after the declaration of war (*see* Chapter VII). That the fleet units, if possible, be made up and disposed as follows :

1. The Australian fleet unit :

Four Dreadnought cruisers and other small craft.

2. The South African fleet unit :

Two Dreadnought cruisers and other small craft.

3. The China-New Zealand fleet unit :

Two New Zealand Dreadnought cruisers,

One Crown Colony Dreadnought cruiser, to which all the Crown Colonies should contribute,

One British Dreadnought cruiser.
(British small craft.)

In the event of a war in Europe appearing imminent or likely to break out, these three fleet units immediately assemble in South African waters.

That in the event of a probable naval war in the East these fleet units assemble at Sydney, or some other Australasian port.

That this fleet of ten Dreadnought cruisers be called the Australasian-African Dominion Fleet.

That if the naval force of Canada must be split up the Dominion should, if possible, keep her effective fighting ships on one sea-board and her commerce protectors on the other.

That the Canadian fleet unit should aim at four Dreadnought cruisers and other smaller craft.

Here is a definite ideal of an effective

Dominion fleet of ten powerful Dreadnought cruisers ready to be concentrated in the East, the Indian Ocean, or in South African waters, sufficiently speedy to escape from a superior fleet and sufficiently strong to render a good account of itself in the event of trouble in those waters, whilst the British fleet is engaged in Europe.

The great value, however, of such a proposal lies in the fact that supposing the British fleet was defeated, this powerful fleet could come to European waters before the victorious fleet had time for repairs, and the supremacy of sea-power would be restored to the Empire. Naval experts are agreed that, under modern conditions, in a naval engagement of any equality even the victorious fleet would be so badly hammered that it would not be able to meet an effective fleet again at short notice. The advent of a powerful fleet of ten Dreadnought cruisers in three weeks' time, assuming it was concentrated in South African waters, would therefore regain for the British Empire the supremacy which would be essential for a fresh naval engagement.

The Canadian fleet unit is in a more difficult position for co-operation, and there are two alternatives open to it.

1. To keep its fighting ships on the Atlantic

sea-board with a view to sailing for Great Britain at the earliest possible moment and thus proving a powerful addition to the Home fleet.

2. To be concentrated on the Pacific coast with a view to joining the Australasian-African Dominion fleet at the outbreak of war.

Distance would make the latter task difficult, for, as has been pointed out, that fleet would probably be concentrated in South African waters; on the other hand, if the trouble was in the East, a combination of the Australasian-African fleet with the Canadian fleet unit would be very powerful in determining any situation which might arise.

To sum up the alternatives: there would either be a fleet of ten Dreadnought cruisers concentrated for reinforcing the Home fleet, with the Home fleet strengthened by four Canadian Dreadnought cruisers, or a complete Dominion fleet of fourteen Dreadnought cruisers drawn from the Dominions of Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, including one Crown Colony and one British, and with a certain proportion of destroyers, etc., drawn from each fleet unit. Either of these alternatives would mean a real co-operation in defence and would establish a truly Imperial fleet, composed of fleet units each under the control of the

Dominions in time of peace, but each united for the defence of the Empire at the first appearance of the possibility of war.

Once we admit that the Empire only exists because of the Empire's supremacy upon the seas, then, directly, it becomes essential that energy shall not be wasted, but that co-operation shall be the policy of the British nations.

Furthermore, naval wars will be fought and won in weeks, or more probably days, and any hesitation on the part of any Dominion in throwing in its lot with the Empire may mean the death blow of the Empire and the death of that particular Dominion itself.

The policy proposed is admitted an ideal, it is not suggested to scrap existing fleet units of the Dominions, but to urge the citizens overseas to aim at the standard here proposed.

New Zealand has already provided one of the two Dreadnought cruisers suggested. Australia one of the four, the Crown Colonies could easily afford one, and the wealth of Canada, Australia, and South Africa should make it possible in a very few years to follow out this plan without in any way straining their resources to the extent that the Mother-

country does to-day. The Empire's trade lies largely upon the seas, much of it is not connected, even indirectly, with the Mother-country, and this vast trade can only be protected by seeking out the enemies' fleets and defeating them, otherwise all the "tin-pot" fleets in the world will be of no avail in preventing ruin and starvation for the countries of the Empire. A Dominion may proclaim itself neutral, but what Power will respect its neutrality, and what Power will respect its commerce?

With regard to the military preparation of the overseas Empire, the present basis is sufficient. Let every Dominion undertake to control its own land defences, whilst cordially co-operating with the Council of Defence (*see* Chapter VII) as to a unified system, and with common war regulations and tactics. Should the Dominions desire to form an oversea fighting force in case of emergency, the better for the Empire as a whole; but by establishing national service for their own defence the task of the Mother-country is made immeasurably lighter, and it is upon the high seas that the Empire's battles will be fought and won; that is where the Mother-country is staggering under a too great burden, that is where co-operation is urgent and vital. If the

Empire is to be a real thing, then let it be real upon the oceans, for upon the supremacy of the Empire's fleet depends her life, her all, her very existence.¹

¹ The decision of the Canadian Government to abandon its naval policy in no way conflicts with the foregoing ideas. The Canadian contribution can either be in money or ships, and if the latter, they can remain in peace time in Canadian or British waters, and can be controlled in peace time either by the Canadian Government or entirely by the Imperial naval authorities, and the ships could be paid for and maintained by the Dominion.

The scheme for an Imperial Council in a future chapter would probably present a solution, which, while in no way conflicting with the national sentiments of the Canadian people, will point the way for a real Imperial fleet.

CHAPTER VII

CONSULTATION

WITHOUT a doubt, the theme which we will now deal with is the most difficult of all Imperial problems that we have to consider, and no one is more conscious than the writer of the pitfalls which lie before those who desire to establish closer consultation between the various parts of the Empire. To avoid this subject, however, would be cowardly, and to shirk it would only make the task of Imperial statesmanship more difficult in the future.

No one will contest the fact that if it is difficult to produce a scheme for the establishment of a Council of Empire to-day, when the nations are approaching full growth, it will be immeasurably harder to gain support for such a policy in the years to come, when the very strength of the Dominions will make their spirit of nationality the stronger and the less ready to consider the necessity of unity in Councils of the Empire. The weak man is

ready to co-operate with stronger men in any work, whilst the strength of the strong man makes for independence, and unconsciously his strength makes him ignore circumstances, and he becomes the more susceptible to danger. It is so with nations, and it is possible to conceive a great Dominion so apparently rich and strong, and so wrapped up in the making of money, that a false policy of security is engendered, and preparation for defence is neglected.

On the other hand, whilst the nation is yet in the making, and too weak by far to stand alone, there is a greater disposition to co-operate with others for mutual defence, support and counsel. In these circumstances, it would seem that nothing is to be gained by assenting to the proposition that the time is not ripe for the formation of a consultative body, but that, on the contrary, every year's delay will make the task more difficult to achieve.

We have an Empire of vast dimensions, split up by mighty oceans, populated by a thousand races, without any attempt at consultation between the various parts. This is risky ; in fact, it is courting disintegration, for there can never be real understanding between the nations of the Empire unless their representa-

tives have the opportunity of continually exchanging ideas, and of voicing the opinions of their people.

It may be suggested that the Imperial Conference fulfils the functions described above. This is a dangerous fallacy. In a previous chapter, we have seen the gradual growth of the Imperial Conference, and have paid tribute to the spirit which brought it into being. That it is useful, no one will contest; that it is adequate, all must dispute.

What is the Conference? It is an exchange of views between the Prime Ministers of the Dominions with the representatives of the Government of the Mother-country. The Home representatives are supreme, and masters of the situation; or, in other words, the party which happens to be in power in the United Kingdom, by however small a majority, can undoubtedly suppress a policy which may be accepted by all the other parties to the Conference, and by a large minority of British Imperial electors.

As an instance of this, we have only to look back to the Conference of 1906. At this Conference every Dominion joined in favouring the policy of preferential trading within the Empire, whilst the Home Government, with scant courtesy, refused to consider the request

of the rest of the Empire. We, therefore, had the extraordinary spectacle of representatives of the Liberal party in the United Kingdom opposing the opinions of the Liberal and Conservative parties in Canada, the Liberal and Labour parties in Australia, all parties in New Zealand, the vast majority of the people of Cape Colony and Natal, with the addition of the great Unionist party in the United Kingdom.

Thus we saw the vast majority of the Empire refused its desire by the representatives of a chance majority in the United Kingdom. Whether the Home Government be Liberal or Conservative, it is quite clear that, so long as such a policy is possible, the Imperial Conference, as far as anything apart from academic discussion is concerned, is nothing but a useless sham.

Again, take the case of the Declaration of London, the merits of which we will not discuss. It affected vitally the trade of the Dominions; yet, for all practical purposes, they were never considered until the Government had actually introduced the Naval Prize Bill. The conduct of foreign affairs must be made more difficult by the mere existence of Dominion navies, whilst it is difficult to see how hopeless confusion can be avoided under

the present machinery, once the Dominions start contracting out of existing Empire trade treaties or entering new ones.

Mr. Fisher, at the last Imperial Conference, considered that the time "has arrived for the oversea Dominions to be informed and, whenever possible, consulted as to the best means of promoting the interests of all concerned, when the Mother-country has decided to open negotiations with foreign Powers in regard to matters which involve the interests of the Dominions."

Sir Joseph Ward, for New Zealand, agreed with a still more emphatic announcement, whilst Sir Wilfrid Laurier claimed for Canada "the liberty of negotiating her own treaties of commerce."

All this is quite natural, but how, without a consultative body, these suggestions can be acted upon, and how individual Dominions can make their own foreign trade treaties without breaking up the whole treaty system of the Empire, passes the wit of man.

Hitherto, the Imperial Parliament, through the Foreign Secretary, has bargained on behalf of the whole Empire, and, with the network of complications which must occur directly this delicate instrument is tampered with, the necessity for a constant interchange of views

and consideration of the aspect of this question from the point of view of the Empire as a whole becomes imperative. The demand of New Zealand at the 1911 Conference in favour of "wider legislative powers in respect to British and foreign shipping," which received the support of Canada, opens up a further question of great magnitude.

Whilst much sympathy must be felt with the Australasian grievance with regard to the competition of ships manned by coloured crews, at the same time it is inconceivable that so great an alteration can be made without the closest co-operation between the various parts of the Empire.

The negotiation of foreign treaties and the alteration of shipping laws for Australia and New Zealand are both subjects which could easily land the whole Empire in war; and, although we do not intend to discuss the merits of these questions, it is obvious that they are matters of so great delicacy that they must be approached from the standpoint of all countries which go to make up the Empire.

The recent policy of separate fleet units again opens up problems of great danger, and the smallest knowledge of "foreign affairs" demands that the Foreign Office shall be in

constant communication with the controllers of separate fleet units of the Imperial navy.

Enough has been said to prove that, if for no other reason, the decisions of the last Imperial Conference have driven us to a point when consultation is vital, and any continuance of a haphazard policy of trusting to luck must be discontinued if dangerous complications are to be avoided.

The suggestions of Mr. Harcourt at the last Conference for a Standing Committee of the Imperial Conference were a step in the right direction, but the expressions used, such as "Advisory Committee to the Foreign Secretary," caused suspicion, and raised a doubt in the minds of the Prime Ministers as to whether the status of the Dominions would not be lowered.

Mr. Harcourt's further suggestion that the Committee should consist of the High Commissioners also was unfavourably received, it being rightly pointed out that such work would conflict with their proper functions.

The first essential of a permanent Council is that the representatives of the Mother-country and Dominions should be on equal terms as far as status is concerned and, at any rate for the present, it would seem desirable that the line should not be too severely drawn as to size,

population, contribution to defence, or any other standard except a rough one as here adopted.

On the other hand, to be of permanent value, it is necessary that the Council should not consist solely of the parties in power in the various parts of the Empire, but that in every case the minority should have some voice.

The functions of the Council will not be executive, but advisory to the Empire as a whole. It should be a permanent Imperial Commission with the power to vote on resolutions, which will carry only the power of recommendations, but will bear the authority of a body which will be of such importance that its decisions will receive the weightiest consideration from every Parliament in the Empire. It will be in the interest of all the parties to send some of their greatest brains and Imperial experts to represent them.

The scope of the Council should at any rate be limited at present to the following subjects :—

- Defence,
- Commerce,
- Trade and shipping treaties,
- Communication,
- Emigration,

and such other questions of general importance.

The conduct of foreign affairs will not be within the scope of the Council work, but the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs will attend discussions bearing on international questions, when his presence or advice is essential.

He will not vote, but when questions affecting foreign policy arise he will have the right of being invited to take part in the discussions.

In the same way the First Lord of the Admiralty and the Secretary of State for War will be permitted to attend as occasion demands.

The following basis would be a good one to start upon :—

	Appointed by the Government.	Appointed by the Opposition.	Total.
United Kingdom	15	7	22
Canada	4	2	6
Australia	4	2	6
South Africa	4	2	6
New Zealand	3	1	4
Newfoundland	2	1	3
		Total	<u>47</u>

It may be suggested that this number is excessive, but if minorities are to be represented it is impossible to cut down the total of

New Zealand and Newfoundland, and the inclusion of the official opposition representatives is imperative if the Council is to be truly representative of Imperial feeling.

The three great Dominions must be more fully represented than the smaller, and the Mother-country must for the present have a representation which is not quite 50 per cent. of the total, and would therefore be in a slight minority, supposing the whole of her representatives voted one way against the rest of the Empire; on the other hand, if the Dominions were not unanimous, the Mother-country would always have a preponderating vote.

The chief work of the Council will be to bring about a harmonious understanding on the question of defence, and representatives will be constantly in touch with their Governments so as to be able to keep them acquainted with the military situation of the Empire; continual communication with the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs will have the effect of bringing about a better understanding between the various parts of the Empire as to the necessities of defence. The Prime Ministers of the overseas Dominions will, by these means, have a better grasp of the situation of foreign affairs, and in the event of a

crisis the various Cabinets of the Empire will be prepared for emergencies, so that delay in co-operation on the outbreak of war will be rendered impossible.

There is a great deal to be said for the policy as enunciated by Sir Wilfrid Laurier that Canada will only become party to a war "if she thinks fit," but, as this principle is destructive of the whole policy of Empire union, it is all the more essential that the Imperial authorities know where they stand with regard to the Dominions prior to the outbreak of war.

It may be necessary to form a committee of the Council to deal specially with the details for a policy of defence and for the homogeneous working of the fleet units and the land forces of the Empire. This committee may be necessary, as obviously the strictest confidence will have to be maintained with Imperial matters of great import, such as strategical considerations and other affairs of great moment.

If the Imperial voice is to be heard above the party din, then the Council must be of such importance as to arrest public opinion and concentrate the thoughts of the whole Empire on topics which are the Empire's concern.

Although the Council will have no executive power, a resolution which is carried unanimously, or with few dissentients, will bear so great authority that there is little doubt that any Government will endeavour to adopt its suggestions; on the other hand, where the Council is openly divided, or where the majority is small, it will carry less weight in assisting Governments to decide the issues referred to them.

The great value of such a body will lie in the fact that it will have no party or faction constitution, but will represent roughly the views of the Empire as a whole, and when its voice speaks with anything like unanimity no Government will be able easily to dismiss its suggestions.

Here for the first time we should get an Imperial opinion—the hour is all too late, and, whatever plan is adopted, some scheme on these lines must be thought out and suggested to the Governments concerned without delay.

There may be certain enthusiasts who would like to see an Imperial Parliament immediately established, and who will think that any Council as suggested above would not go far enough; but there is grave danger in forcing this question, and surely the greater ideal will be

more sympathetically received when once the Governments of the Empire have shown a desire for co-operation and proved the worth of consultation by means of a Council which will avoid, at any rate for the time being, the vexed questions of taxation and representation.

CHAPTER VIII

COMMUNICATION

IT is because of their comparative novelty that people have not yet grasped the supreme importance of the latest means of communication ; but it is difficult to understand why the United Kingdom as a whole is so little alive to the necessity of keeping in touch with her Dominions, while some of the younger nations of the world who have become or are becoming her commercial rivals are so wide awake and ready to spend large sums of money in this respect, for the German Government subscribe annually to the support of two Atlantic cables £85,500 till 1944, and £75,000 for twenty years towards the German-Dutch system in the East.

When we come to look at the extraordinary usefulness of the cheap telegram for our internal commerce, of quick freights by rail, and easy access to the oceans for our seaborne commerce, it is indeed amazing that the "Nation of Shop-

keepers" has never turned its serious attention to the desirability of encouraging the same cheap and quick communication by wire, rail and sea to the various parts of the Empire.

The commercial and strategic desirability of cable communication between the Mother-country and her Dominions is self-evident, partly because it is never good for a nation to allow particulars of its business to be forwarded through foreign channels; and it may be disastrous for its war secrets or even questions of neutrality to pass through the medium of a nation which is not necessarily on friendly terms. This point was very fully dealt with recently by Mr. Charles Bright, the telegraph expert.¹

Up to now cable communication from the Mother-country to the Dominions has been left almost entirely to private enterprise, and, although rates have been high, the service on the whole has been good; yet from an Imperial point of view there is much that requires doing.

It is not the intention of the writer to suggest interference with the existing privately owned cables, but rather to insist upon the necessity of additional strategic lines for the British Empire, so that the British peoples

¹ "Imperial Telegraphic Communications" by Charles Bright, F.R.S.E., M. Inst. C. E. (P. S. King & Son).

can commune with each other privately, and so that such communication as exists will in time of stress or war be under the direct control of the Imperial authorities.

What is sometimes forgotten is the fact that even if the establishment of an "all-red" cable were a slight financial loss (although this is unlikely) yet the enormous gain to the commerce of the Empire would more than justify the expenditure. No one would now suggest that the telegraph system of the United Kingdom should be stopped because it does not show an actual direct profit, and the same arguments apply still more, for commercial and strategic reasons, to Imperial cable communication.

Just as internal trade is encouraged by internal telegraphy, so also Imperial trade must be enormously benefited by any improved direct cable communication. We have recently seen a great amalgamation of the four Atlantic cable companies, which have become part of what practically amounts to—though not actually in name—an American Trust; and no one who seriously desires to encourage all-British trade can help viewing with dismay the position of the Mother-country, who can only communicate with the Dominion of Canada by leave of the United States.

It cannot be denied that much misunderstanding has been caused by the lack of news correctly conveying Imperial sentiment which reaches Canada ; and it is a curious fact that speeches and matters of first importance in the Mother-country receive such handling that when the boiled-down version reaches the Canadian press it is a very poor description of news such as should be widely read. It is hardly an exaggeration to say that Canada knows far more fully the true state of affairs in Australasia than in the Mother-country.

The mere fact that Canada is in such close touch telegraphically with the United States must tend to divert a great amount of trade which would go to the Mother-country had she more equal facilities in the matter of communication.

For commercial reasons alone, then, there is clear need for a British cable to be laid, on the lines suggested by Mr. Charles Bright, between Ireland, Newfoundland, Halifax Nova Scotia, thence *viâ* Hudson Bay west to Vancouver, where it could connect up with Australasia by the Imperial Pacific Cable. By this route the cable would be landed under naval protection and would form a complete strategic link. The cost of laying a fresh Atlantic cable between the United Kingdom and Canada

would be roughly £450,000, or for less than half the cost of a Dreadnought we could possess this great strategic and commercial advantage.

Mr. Bright has also pointed out that communication with the Cape is at present maintained through foreign hands, and that this problem could be solved by connecting a fresh all-British cable between the United Kingdom and Gibraltar, and thence to Bathurst or Sierra Leone. This route should be linked up with the West Indies and thence again with the proposed all-British Atlantic cable.

By this means a double link could be formed with most of the important strategic and commercial points of the Empire, at the same time opening up trade connection between Canada, the West Indies, and South Africa by all-British cable routes. The whole British cable circle could, it appears, be completed at a cost of about £1,000,000, the annual cost of maintenance of which would hardly exceed £200,000 ; and when the enormous interests concerned are taken into account, the loss would be small, if indeed the outlay did not show an actual profit.

The fact that the whole of the Atlantic cable communication between the United Kingdom and Canada has recently passed into

American hands calls for immediate action, and demands the establishment of a British line which will be under the entire control of the British Imperial authorities not only in war time but even when peace prevails. The tendency of the American companies who control our Atlantic communication would be—more likely than not—to keep the rates high ; and an additional all-British cable would provide the only real power of bargaining against monopoly extortion, which is quite possible otherwise.

The Postmaster-General, in announcing the reduction in the tariff for press and deferred messages in December, stated that he regarded with no fear the strategic problem ; but he appears to forget that the operators will now be servants of an American company, although the cables are landed on British territory, and that the whole of our business communications—as well as news of national importance—must go through American hands at times of disturbance, when it is just as important to preserve strategic and commercial secrets as at the actual moment of hostilities.

The past Imperial Conferences have repeatedly called attention to the necessity of an all-British Atlantic service, and the Prime Minister himself has paid valuable tribute to

the usefulness of Imperial cable connection ; yet it now appears the postal authorities have consented to the "eating up" of the British companies by the American combine without securing any protection for national interests.

British policy in this matter has hitherto been difficult to understand, but the new situation makes further delay impossible—unless the whole Imperial position is to be compromised. There is not the slightest doubt that the Canadian, Australian and New Zealand Governments would be ready to contribute to the upkeep ; and when the vital necessity of communication for naval purposes is remembered, the cost would be like a "fleabite on an elephant," to use Lord Randolph Churchill's expressive phrase, but the gain to the Empire would be of elephantine proportions.

It may be argued that, with wireless telegraphy advancing, cable communication should not be extended. This, however, is not what wide-awake Germany or America, let alone France, thinks ; and it would be the policy of fools to say "wait and see," when national interests are at stake. Wireless telegraphy to-day is unreliable, more slow than the cable, and prone to great disturbance in time of war. If indeed we are to wait for strategic perfec-

tion in wireless telegraphy, on the same reasoning we had better not build any more Dreadnoughts, but wait for the battleships of the air, which may or may not arrive as serious instruments of warfare.

There is no excuse for further delay. Imperial thought is unanimous on this question; and the British race, which pioneered the cable system, and which has allowed the world to outstrip it and buy up its most valuable cable links, must establish closer touch between the members of the family, or else allow to pass to other, possibly hostile, Powers enormous commercial advantages, and expose itself to the danger of great Imperial disorganisation in time of war.

STEAMSHIPS

The next question which requires the attention of Imperialists is that of better mail services throughout the Empire, and a fast line of mail steamers to Canada *via* Newfoundland is of the first importance.

Quick delivery of mails and goods is an essential factor for the furtherance of trade; and, as the Prime Minister of Newfoundland rightly remarked at the last Conference, the United States is capturing the trade of that

country because of the daily freight service from the United States, whilst the Mother-country has only the fortnightly service that was in existence forty years ago. A fast subsidised service would have an immediate effect in attracting visitors from the United Kingdom to Canada and Newfoundland rather than to New York, and it would undoubtedly quicken the trade interests between the three countries.

Once a good service was started it is probable that, after a few years, it would pay its way; but a small subsidy would anyway prove an excellent investment, and Canada and Newfoundland have expressed their readiness to share the burden.

The next step should be a line of freight steamers, and if possible a passenger service also, between Vancouver, Fiji, Auckland and Sydney, to open up the trade relations between Australasia and Canada, and a further improved service between Australia, South Africa, and the United Kingdom, thus establishing an "all-red" mail route connecting up every Dominion with the Mother-country.

It is impossible in this short work to develop this question, but undoubtedly the Atlantic proposition is the one which calls

for the first consideration, and is in every way ripe for development.

RAILWAYS

Much can be done in the way of binding together the British Empire by means of preferential railway rates in the Mother-country and the Dominions for Empire produce, as also by reduction of the freights in steamship lines and railways between the various points of the British Empire. But with these points there is not space here to deal, and we will therefore turn to one more question which arises for consideration in connection with the completion of the Imperial link, and that is a strategic route from the United Kingdom to India; but here the difficulties are far greater as the problem before us is the connection of Egypt and India by a great railway running through countries under foreign control.

To build a strategic railway to the Indian Empire, the best route would be from Port Said *viâ* the Gulf of Akabah and Basra in connection with the Persian Gulf and Quetta to Seistan. Such a railway would be of great value for bringing the Indian Empire closer to the Mother-country, for it would shorten

the journey by six days, and would give an alternate road to India to that of the Suez Canal, which must ever remain a doubtful passage in time of war.

At first sight the railway would appear to be an enormous undertaking; but the distance is nothing compared to the Trans-Siberian railway, and the physical difficulties are no greater than those of the Hejaz railway, which were overcome by Turkish engineers.

The difficulties lie, first, in gaining the consent of the Turkish Government, the Amir of Jebel Shomner, the Bedouin tribes, and the Persian authorities. The railway would be of great advantage to Turkish enterprise, and also to Persia; and by a system of subsidies the consent and friendly agreement of the other parties could probably be arrived at. The second obstacle is that of cost, the initial outlay on which, including rolling stock, would come to from £14,000,000 to £15,000,000, and the question arises as to whether such a line could ever be a financial success. Firstly, there would be a constant through passenger traffic from India to Europe, and in addition the yearly transit of troops, running to anything from 20,000 to 40,000 a year. There would also probably be a big passenger traffic of Mahommedans, who would thus be enabled

to come from the East to visit Mecca and the other holy places of Islam. In addition to the above, the Eastern mails would all take this, the shortest route to Europe, and there would spring up a large local traffic which would greatly assist the opening up of the country through which the road would pass. The chief advantages would be Imperial, for this would be the only railway from the Mediterranean to the East under British control. It would provide an "all-red" connection between India and Europe, which would at once strengthen the British hold on India, and would bring her military forces nearer by one week's journey. Furthermore, it would link up Egypt with the Indian Empire, and consolidate the whole Imperial position.

Every day that the outlying parts of the Empire are brought nearer home strengthens the tie of Empire, increases trade facilities, and makes the Empire better known to itself; and although these are great undertakings, time will prove that just as the Suez Canal, bitterly opposed as the project was by Great Britain, has opened up the resources of civilisation, so also will any policy of closer touch open up the Empire in order that its treasures may come to its sons.

CHAPTER IX

EMIGRATION

THE vast spaces of the British Empire are calling for people—the world is calling for cheap food—the working people of the Mother-country are yearly leaving her shores by hundreds of thousands, and yet, so far, emigration is, like all Imperial problems of first magnitude, allowed to drift without any attempt at organisation. Canada, South Africa, Australia, and New Zealand are inviting the co-operation of the settler and the labourer to help them to fulfil their destiny, and the problem which the British race has to face is the best possible way of keeping the population of these countries British.

The true Imperial conception may be uncongenial to the average British citizen, but if we believe in Empire then there is only one way of looking at this question, namely that it is desirable that British citizens

should move anywhere under the Flag where they can improve their condition.

The seething population of the United Kingdom must be fed, and should be fed Imperially, and if the conditions of agriculturists are impossible at home, then, at any rate in the view of the writer, the Empire will gain if the Essex labourer who only earns 14s. a week is not discouraged from emigrating to Canada, where he will make 50s. a week with the possibility in time of owning his own land.

It is up to the Mother-country to raise the status of the British agriculturist, and if she has any regard for true economy, whether by protection or otherwise, she will see to it that her agriculture more nearly balances her manufacturing industries, but, until this is accomplished, it is desirable that no one shall be kept down if he can better himself under the British flag.

That this sentiment will not find favour with the British people, as a whole, is not doubted ; but few will deny that emigration is increasing and that it is likely to continue so long as wages are kept down by a superfluity of labour.

If we admit that emigration will continue, even though it be considered an evil, then

surely the paramount duty of Imperialists is to keep that emigration within the British Empire.

The teaching of Imperialism has not been without effect in the old country, for whereas in 1901 we found that 25 per cent. of our emigrants only went to British Dominions, we now find 80 per cent. are being attracted to those countries, where they continue to be citizens of the British Empire.

But this is not enough, for in the first nine months of 1911 44,000 emigrants sailed from the United Kingdom for the United States, and only 38,000 for Australia. Each grown emigrant who leaves the shores of the Motherland represents something like £200 of British capital, which has been the cost of feeding, clothing, educating, and housing him, and large numbers in addition take with them savings running in many cases to hundreds of pounds.

These human exports representing so much capital are not paid for by imports, unless we count as such the wage-sucking riff-raff of Europe which yearly infests our shores, bringing with it the crime, disease and poverty which are undermining our physique and weakening our manhood. The British emigrant who sails for a foreign land takes

with him, probably for all time, the capital expended in turning him into a finished article : he is a dead loss to the British race, and he is a valuable person, for of such kind are the British emigrants. Not only does he represent a national loss, for he is no pebble thrown into the sea, but he becomes in turn the fiercest competitor of the British working-man, and he goes to build up the industries, the wealth and the fleets of foreign countries.

Each emigrant who goes to the British Empire goes to build up the industries, the wealth and the fleets of the British Empire ; he is kept, probably for all time, a useful part of the Imperial machine.

Let us take the case of 44,000 emigrants to the United States during the first nine months of 1911. The people of the United States buy from the United Kingdom per head of population per annum 6s. 10*d.* The people of Australia buy per head of population per annum £6 4s. 3*d.* If the 44,000 emigrants had gone to Australia, the net annual gain in trade to the United Kingdom would have been £258,317. Let us continue the story. In the last ten completed years 1,481,130 British emigrants have sailed for foreign countries. Had they gone to Australia, they would have purchased £9,200,152 per annum.

and at the present rate that would have meant a net gain in exports from the United Kingdom of £8,695,468 over that period, representing roughly £4,347,000 in wages to the British working-man.

We could give endless evidence on these lines, but sufficient has been said to prove our case. The indisputable fact remains that, even at great cost, every emigrant who leaves our shores should be encouraged to go to the British countries that need him, to be still yet a Briton.

Now for the other side of the picture. The Dominion of Canada is being overrun on its southern border by American settlers, some of whom find the utmost difficulty in forgetting the fact that they cease to be citizens of the country to the south; simultaneously, there is an inrush from overseas, from every land under the sun, and the solid fact remains that possibly in thirty years' time there will be a majority of Canadians who are neither Canadian nor British-born, who know not attachment to the British flag, and have no reverence for the British throne or British tradition. The crimson thread of sentiment with them is unknown, the silver string of dollars only counts, and who can blame them?

If, then, the Canadian feeling of to-day is to

be maintained, it is of paramount importance that every available emigrant should go to Canada in preference to the United States, and carry with them the love of the Briton for British institutions, to help and teach the alien who emigrates to Canada what the British Empire means.

Let it not be understood that Canadian immigrants do not become good Canadians. Of this, fortunately, there is ample proof. But this is not enough ; they must become good British citizens, or time will find Canada without the British Empire.

One word more as to Canada. West of Winnipeg there is a great preponderance of the male sex. Here is ample room for British women, British wives and British mothers, and no greater service could be done to Canada than to turn intending women emigrants to the great West.

In South Africa there is the race problem, and there could be no better solution of South African difficulties than an equal distribution of South Africans of British and Dutch extraction. So long as Dutchmen are in an overwhelming majority, so long the temptation is for government to be on Dutch lines. There is no reason for continued hostility, the black peril is too great to warrant the keeping

open of old sores ; but there is room for all, and the greater the mixing of the two peoples the sooner the South African Union will work out its salvation.

South Africa has an enormous agricultural future, and there are great opportunities for settlers, from Rhodesia to Cape Town, when South Africa realises that man-power means prosperity.

The problem which Australians have to face is a great one. The protected feeling which dominates that country is applied also to a large extent to the question of emigration, and it will be admitted that the Labour party, believing that a scarcity of labour will keep high wages, have done much to discourage immigration on a large scale. What is forgotten is that the resources of Australia are so enormous that fresh labour imported into Australia, far from displacing present labour, would immediately be absorbed in fresh channels of productivity, with the consequent lightening of the burden of taxation upon the community as a whole.

Students of history will observe that vast tracts of unpopulated country capable of development are the greatest temptation for attack to expanding communities, and never in the history of the world have such great vacant

spaces been allowed to remain unoccupied when contiguous to, or in the neighbourhood of, great communities who could better themselves by an entry to those spaces.

The Yellow peril, therefore, as far as Australia is concerned, is not a pressing danger owing to the martial spirit of the Orient, but is governed by the laws which have been in existence since the world began, namely, that people should have access to unoccupied spaces. Consequently, any hesitation in opening up the resources of Australia to Western communities must have the effect of an ever-increasing desire for Eastern communities to share in the exploiting of the great island continent. If we have any regard for the future, then it must be to the advantage of Australia to open her gates to suitable immigration if she is to withstand the pressure of Eastern communities.

The period when the Mother-country discharged her wastrels and inferior human products to the outlying lands of the Empire has for ever passed, and the men who are now leaving the shores of the Mother-country are of a better class, and, far from lowering the standard in the Dominions, are the very type who will go to build up their greatness. In the Mother-country, hundreds of thousands

of men are kept out of the ranks of skilled labour solely owing to the fact that the supply is greater than the demand, and they therefore go to increase the great army of unskilled and casual labourers for whom there is not sufficient work to go round. It is therefore in the interest of the Mother-country that even her skilled workmen should emigrate to the Dominions, for thus, and thus alone, can she reduce the number of her unskilled classes.

We now come to the consideration of how emigration can best be put upon an organised basis. In 1905, Mr. Walter Long, acting for the Conservative administration, carried the Unemployed Workmen Act. The Act was meant to be experimental, but has been renewed from year to year, and one of the provisions of the Act was that an unemployed man, physically fit, and willing to take work, preferably in the Colonies, should be assisted to the Dominions, together with his relatives, provided he could obtain work immediately on arrival.

In six years 10,000 persons were in this manner assisted from London to the Colonies, at an actual cost of £85,000 ; £7,500 has been repaid, and probably a good deal more will be refunded.

The system of loans and repayments was not

instituted until £50,000 had been expended in unconditional grants, and a careful examination of the working of the Act proves conclusively that it is cheaper in the long run, even at some original cost, that these men should be assisted to the Dominions instead of being a permanent burden on the community in the United Kingdom as paupers.

Therefore, it is undesirable that the Government should shut its eyes to the possibility of assisting emigration under an organised system, by means of assisted passages. There are two considerations to be faced. The first is that such emigration must be carefully selected and tested, and, if destined for the land, should be for a time prepared for agricultural pursuits on farm colonies, such as the Hollesley Bay farm which is now in existence.

Secondly, if passages are assisted by loan the Dominions should be asked to co-operate to the extent of half, or at least one quarter, of the cost of advancing the passage money for assisting emigration destined to those Dominions, and collectors should be appointed in the Dominions, who will be paid for in equal proportions by the Home Government and the Dominions, in order to refund the passage money advanced under the Government scheme. If this were done, there is little

doubt that a large proportion of money would be refunded, probably in five years, to the Home and Dominion Governments. Should the Home and Dominion Governments refuse to undertake work of this description, which would at once prove an insurance against unemployment in the Mother-country and produce labour of great value for the Dominions, then it is clearly the duty of the Government to endeavour to co-ordinate and organise, on some central basis, the emigration work of the various societies existing in the United Kingdom. Many of these societies are doing wonderful work, and, providing that they have the necessary capital at cheap rates, there is no doubt that their work could be far more effective than at present.

To burk this question means unorganised emigration and the landing in the Dominions of thousands of men for whom no work has been provided, and who have been attracted overseas by those whose natural object is to advertise the advantages of emigration with a view to stimulating ocean and railway traffics ; and thus a perpetuation of a vicious system will continue, in which the state of many of those emigrating is worse even than that which they left.

The final consideration is this: if the

Dominions recognise that the opening up of new agricultural districts will be of permanent benefit to those Dominions, then we would suggest the advisability of providing Dominion settlements and farm colonies under skilled superintendence to receive emigrants and bring them in contact with the local conditions and fit them for the work which they desire to undertake. A criticism may be offered that a scheme of this description is costly and difficult to initiate, but there are many thousands of emigrants of a good type who are only debarred from obtaining employment because they have had no experience of the work which they desire to undertake. They would be prepared to work as probationers on such farms for a living wage, and, if carefully organised, such colonies, if they included general farming, should return two-thirds of their annual cost at the least, and the enormous advantage to farmers of being able to telegraph at a given moment for skilled labour, would seem to far outweigh the necessary cost in the upkeep of such farm colonies.

If every province and every state in the Dominions had one such farm colony, there is no doubt whatever that the skilled labour which such farm colonies would produce

would amply repay them by the most valuable description of emigration which could be undertaken ; for each shilling spent in such a manner, pounds sterling would be returned eventually in rates and taxes, and the whole strength of the province or state would be increased.

The Mother-country can export for the next ten years at least 300,000 emigrants per annum of a good class, without weakening to any appreciable extent her labour market ; and at the same time labour throughout the country will be levelled up, workhouses will not claim so many of her sons, and the ratepayer will be relieved of the burden which short-sightedness and the lack of organisation on the part of the Mother-country and the Dominions have placed upon him in the past.

CHAPTER X

CONCLUSION

IN this short work an endeavour has been made to find a path of Empire, and although there are many circuitous ways which might lead us to our destiny, we have tried to keep to the broad main track which can take us most quickly to the goal.

Of all the millions of our peoples there are none of healthy mind who do not desire to find some tangible means of gathering together the forces of the British race, and of cementing the rough-hewn blocks which are ready to hand for the Imperial mason. It is only because the voices of those who should lead the Empire are confused and discordant that no march forward has yet begun, and however indifferent the people may seem their indifference is solely due to the fact that statesmen have been spending their time in appealing to the selfish passions of the mob, instead of proclaiming that true patriotism

which, in the long run, can alone make a nation prosperous.

The flint and tinder are present in every British heart, the Empire now only waits for messengers and the captains of the race to strike the spark which will light the Imperial flame. From time to time the darkness has been lit up by the spasmodic spark of Empire ; at the time of disaster during the South African war the British people came closer to the true conception of Imperial patriotism than they have ever been ; the spontaneous sacrifice of the Australasian Dominions during the naval crisis, and the verdict of Canada for Imperial unity at the polls, prove that the sister nations are sound at heart in time of danger.

It is for Imperialists now to bring about that unity in time of peace which will make real danger improbable in the future. The present ignorance and contemptuous indifference which are often displayed by one part of the Empire for another are solely due to absence of touch between them. Science has annihilated time and distance, the oceans no longer divide, the vast interiors of the mighty lands of the King are all directly accessible, and now we only await the organisation of the forces which science has placed in

our grasp. Communication, which can draw us closer, can be established with little cost and with lasting result ; the trade which can bind needs only to be diverted into its proper and natural channels ; the defence which can alone maintain wants but a master mind for consummation.

It is but prejudice and lack of understanding that prevent a common voice to control the Empire's common destiny ; there is nothing but gain in cohesion, there is nothing but profit in union. The senseless policy of drift must end, and the British nations can afford no longer to wander aimlessly each upon their separate path.

At no time in history have the armaments of nations been so vast ; never before has the military strength of countries been so unequal. The grey-headed Mother cannot for ever struggle alone against the vast Empires which to-day exist ; without her aid the young children cannot hope to withstand the pressure of armed multitudes which threaten their mighty seaboards. The clouds of war are ever appearing on the horizon, and never a year passes but the clash of arms is heard ; and yet, while the mighty death-dealing machines are ever being perfected in Europe and away in the Orient, still the Anglo-Saxon race

alone ignores the lessons of history, still the British Empire looks to the British fleet only, still the Mother-country slumbers in its bed of luxury and parades its ill-trained Territorials with smug content, while its sons are leaving its shores and its working-men are starving.

The people of the old country, with an arrogance equalled only by that of declining Rome, are growing soft and callous. Take the upper classes: the many rich think much of their theatres, restaurants and motors, but little of the country which gave them all the new riches they possess; whilst the few, who are mostly of old British stock, bear the burdens of the defence of the race and strive to maintain those patriotic principles which have been handed down to them by their forebears.

The lower middle classes are being slowly bled by taxation; but they are too often good grumblers and bad fighters, and this great body of opinion is too much engaged in business to realise that a patriotic effort can alone bring them security and peace.

Lastly, the working classes, permeated with discontent, are allowing their minds to be poisoned with an insidious Socialism which preaches class hatred and greed as the means to a happier life, or are being dragged down in the mire of despair. The healthy workers of

the land are being driven to the slums, where, herded together, they readily imbibe the intoxicating words of the first demagogue who has the power to apply his oratory so as to appeal to their empty stomachs.

A new type of working-man is appearing—he is desperate or indifferent; but the latter is the worst, for indifference kills all patriotism. Yet, of all the people, the working-man is least to blame, for he has had no leaders. Those who complain most of the tyranny of labour and the indifference of the workers are the very men who for years have been offering the tired, ill-paid and hungry the musty formulas of worn-out economic dogma and the platitudes of drift.

The British working-man is at heart an Imperialist. He is more; he is a romantic idealist. But even a worm may turn, and how much more the man you neglect, and will not lead?

Offer him a stone, and he will throw it at your head; give him bread, and he is ready to follow with loyalty and enthusiasm.

All through the classes there are to be found large numbers, probably the majority, whom nothing will stir more strongly than an inspiring appeal for the Fatherland; if they have been indifferent, and if patriotism is dying, then the leading classes alone are to blame.

Now, therefore, must arise a devoted band of patriots in every land under the flag, who will become in truth missionaries of Empire, men whose faith will carve their way into the hearts of the masses, whose sincerity will compel attention, whose energy will bear down opposition. The strain of modern life and the sacrifice of public work are great, but the joy of patriotic service is greater ; and here is a victory to be won, a victory for the masses, for social betterment, for security in trade—a victory for our country and for the brotherhood of the British race, to whom we owe all that we hold dear.

The hour is late, and the sands are running down, but there is yet time ; and, believing that our countrymen will ever rally in the hour of need, we urge them now to rise above the small things and reach out for the great.

No longer can four hundred million subjects of one King ignore the common weal ; no longer can the small men hold the host apart. The trumpets must sound and the march begin, for the road is broad and the destiny is beautiful. One for other, each for all ; this is the **PATH OF EMPIRE.**

MODERN TARIFF HISTORY. Showing the Origin and Growth of Tariffs in Germany, France, and the United States. By Percy Ashley, M.A., Lecturer at the London School of Economics in the University of London. Second Edition. 10s. 6d. net.

"The fairness and frankness of his survey must be heartily recognized. He has given us a most useful and compact summary of those chapters of economic history which lie contained in the records of France, Germany, and the United States for the last hundred years, and he is careful to avoid any confusion of facts with conclusions."—*Pall Mall Gazette*.

THE BRITISH TRADE BOOK. Fourth Issue. Covering the years 1880-1910, and showing the Course of British and International Commerce, with its bearing upon our Internal Trade and Industries, etc. By John Holt Schooling. Including 340 Tables and Diagrams showing Trade Tendencies, etc. Medium 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.

This is the only book that shows the course of trade in an intelligible and compendious form.

"No thoughtful and patriotic Englishman, whatever his political creed, will refuse gratitude to Mr. Schooling for this most opportune work. The excellence of Mr. Schooling's method is clear at first glance amongst the tables"—*Daily Chronicle*.

SYDICALISM AND LABOUR. A Book for the present Industrial Crisis. By Sir Arthur Clay, Bart. Second Impression. Crown 8vo. 6s. net.

"Our author's conclusion takes the sanguine side, as does our own, but it is taken in full view of the most sinister phenomena; and it is in recognition of this clear-sightedness and thoroughly human and patriotic note that we take leave of a book which is profound in its thinking and brilliant in its setting forth."—*Pall Mall Gazette*.

COLLECTIVISM: A Study of some of the Leading Social Questions of the Day. By Paul Leroy-Beaulieu, Member of the Institute, and Professor of the College of France. Abridged and Translated. By Sir Arthur Clay, Bart. Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.

"It is a searching exposure of the shallowness and sophistry of the leading Socialistic writers of our time, and could it only be plainly made known to the crowds who unthinkingly believe and applaud the Socialistic agitators in our streets, it would serve a still more useful purpose. . . . Many difficulties which the Socialists have not detected are explained with much force and lucidity in M. Beaulieu's book, which it is to be hoped will be carefully read by all who have it in their power to influence the working classes of this country."—*Yorkshire Post*

LOCAL AND CENTRAL GOVERN-

MENT: A Comparative Study of England, France, Prussia, and the United States. By Percy Ashley, M.A., Lincoln College, Oxford; Lecturer at the London School of Economics and Political Science in the University of London; Author of "Modern Tariff History." Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.

THE NAVY LEAGUE ANNUAL.

Founded and Edited by Alan H. Burgoyne, M.P. Fourth year of issue. With Illustrations. Demy 8vo. 2s. 6d. net.

"One of the most valuable pieces of work done under the auspices of the Navy League in recent years has been the publication of this *Annual*. . . . The British public owes much to its founder and editor, Mr. Alan Burgoyne, M.P., for making accessible—at very small cost, and in a form which can be generally understood—a great mass of information respecting the war fleets of the world, their organization, programmes of construction, and expenditure. . . . Already the *Annual* has established itself as one of the best books of reference on naval subjects."—*Spectator*.

SEA LAW AND SEA POWER. As they would be affected by Recent Proposals. By T. Gibson Bowles, Author of "The Declaration of Paris of 1856." Demy 8vo. 7s. 6d. net.

"Any careful and intelligent discussion of the law of the sea, and particularly of the Declaration of London and the Naval Prize Court Bill, is to be welcomed, since the subject may soon come before Parliament. Mr. Gibson Bowles has long studied the subject; and this book, revealing in every page profound conviction, is the concentrated spirit of many speeches, letters, and discussions dealing with the same problems. The earnestness with which he pleads his cause would merit and command a hearing."—*Times Literary Supplement*.

THE KING'S CUSTOMS. An Account of Maritime Revenue and Contraband Traffic in England, Scotland, and Ireland. By Henry Atton and Henry Hurst Holland. Vol. I—From the Earliest Times to the Year 1800. Vol. II—From 1800 to 1855. With Illustrations. Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d. net. each volume.

"We can scarcely conceive a more difficult task than writing an interesting history of a Public Department. Yet the book before us is both interesting and instructive. The authors have produced an exceedingly useful work, and have shown the same judgement in selection as in the case of the first volume."—*Civil Service Gazette*.

THE "QUESTIONS OF THE DAY" SERIES.

THE PATH OF EMPIRE. By Henry Page Croft. With a Preface by the Rt. Hon. Joseph Chamberlain, M.P. Crown 8vo. 2s. 6d. net.

This brief Imperial work is the outcome of a great deal of consultation between the author, who is Chairman of the Imperial Mission, and the large number of distinguished citizens of the Oversea Dominions with whom he has been brought in contact. The subjects dealt with are Trade, Defence, Consultation, Communication, and Emigration as far as these questions affect the Empire as a whole. Most of the facts with regard to Imperial Trade have been ascertained across the floor of the House of Commons during the last session, and special stress is laid upon the great value of the Empire's Trade to the producers of the Mother Country as also its enormous prospective worth. The suggestions with regard to an Imperial Council and a compulsory Territorial Army for Home Defence are dealt with from an original standpoint. This work should be useful for students of Imperial policy.

THE MILITARY DANGER OF HOME RULE IN IRELAND. By Major-General Sir Thomas Fraser, K.C.B., C.M.G. 2s. 6d. net.

This book is a contribution to the very present controversy on Home Rule for Ireland. It has concern with the past, as well as with the present, and traces the effects of former attempts on the part of Continental Powers to intervene in Ireland, not only to the danger of Protestantism but of Great Britain and the Empire, having view of the possibility of a separate Ireland being occupied as a base for the invasion of this country.

EFFICIENCY IN THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND. Some Remarks occasioned by the Report of the Archbishops' Committee on Church Finance. By W. Cunningham, D.D., F.B.A., Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and Archdeacon of Ely; Author of "The Case Against Free Trade," etc. 2s. 6d. net.

This book follows up some suggestions which have been made in the Report of the Archbishops' Committee on Church Finance, and points out that the proposals of the Report lend themselves to far-reaching plans for Church Reform. The main purpose of the volume is to call attention to some of the steps which may be taken, at once, to increase the efficiency of the Church by improved administration, without the uncertainty and delay involved in demands of fresh legislation. The term efficiency is not taken in any narrow sense, as if it were merely a question of finance and organization, for the fundamental issues as to the religious life of the Nation are not left out of sight. Mr. Lloyd George's view of the functions of the Churches, and the principles involved in the attack on the Church in Wales are incidentally criticized.

THE POOR LAW ENIGMA. By M.

Fothergill Robinson, Ex-Guardian for the Parish of Kensington. Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d. net.

An attempt has been made in this volume of lectures to trace the rise and growth of the English Poor Law, and to give a short sketch of the diverse ways in which relief is afforded at the present time. The author also includes an account and a criticism of the chief schemes for the reform of Poor Law Administration which are now before the public.

CHILDREN AND THE LAW. By W.

H. Stuart Garnett. With an Introduction by the Rt. Hon. Walter Runciman, M.P. Crown 8vo. 2s. 6d. net.

This is a survey of the law relating to children, and particularly to the children of the poor. This branch of law has of recent years become so voluminous and complex, and the number of persons interested in its administration has so greatly increased, that some such work has become a necessity. It is designed to answer those legal circumstances which are constantly presented to teachers, school managers, members of local education authorities and care committees, and all those engaged in philanthropic work among children and their parents.

THE CASE AGAINST FREE TRADE.

By the Venerable Archdeacon W. Cunningham, D.D., Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. With a Preface by the Rt. Hon. Joseph Chamberlain, M.P. Crown 8vo. 2s. 6d. net.

“Dr. Cunningham’s admirable little book, which is simple enough and cheap enough to commend it to a very wide circle of readers, goes to the root of existing conditions with a lucidity rarely found in the writings of economists.”—*The Times*.

THE CASE AGAINST TARIFF REFORM. An Answer to Dr. Cunningham’s Book, “The Case Against Free Trade.” By E. Enever Todd. Crown 8vo. 2s. 6d. net.

This book is intended not merely as a reply to Archdeacon Cunningham’s volume, “The Case Against Free Trade,” in the same series, but as a general statement of the practical value of Free Trade and of the failure of Protection under modern conditions of fierce international competition.

TOWARDS A NATIONAL POLICY.

An Appeal to public spirited men of all parties to consider vital national questions in a scientific spirit, regardless of party interest and prejudices. By Harry Roberts. Crown 8vo. 2s. 6d. net.

"The book is in many ways worth reading because it is alive. It is one more testimony to the growing conviction, listened to so reluctantly by all political persons, that the party system has had its day. And he sees that the most important steps taken in recent years have been built up by persons outside the political parties. His object is to call for more of this spirit inside and outside politics; and, whatever one may think of details in his programme, no one will read his book without a quickened sense of national hope and national duty."—*The Times Literary Supplement*.

TRADE AND THE NATIONAL IDEAL.

By M. H. G. Goldie. Crown 8vo. 2s. 6d. net.

This work examines Great Britain's industrial progress towards the National Ideal, and explains why that progress demands universal military service, as a school and for defence, a new Aliens Act, and a revised Small Holdings Act. The book, being largely intended for readers unversed in political economy, shows that the capital of workmen and that of employers, are equally necessary, and explains how capital is increased and wasted. Amongst other aspects of the great question with which the book deals are the effects of taxation on industrial progress, the relations of employers and workmen, and the increased production of British-grown food.

FEDERALISM AND HOME RULE.

Letters to *The Times* upon the Constitutional Conference. By "Pacifcus." Crown 8vo. 2s. 6d. net.

"They are marked by insight, imagination, discernment, and ripeness of knowledge. . . . Written from a fresh and original standpoint, and entirely detached from party, this book is a valuable contribution to the study of current constitutional problems, and contains suggestive ideas as to the probable trend of political development in this country." *Daily Chronicle*.

FALLACIES AND FACTS. An Answer to "Compulsory Service." By Field-Marshal Earl Roberts, V.C., K.G. Second Impression. Crown 8vo. 2s. 6d. net.

"Lord Roberts's answer to Sir Ian Hamilton's 'Compulsory Service' is, in our opinion, conclusive. All that was wanted was a protest against the partial use of expert testimony and a refutation of Sir Ian Hamilton's 'fed-up' argument. This Lord Roberts's Part I. supplies with perfect success."—*Spectator*.

COMPULSORY SERVICE. By General Sir Ian Hamilton. With an Introduction by the Viscount Haldane of Cloan. 2s. 6d. net. Second Edition, with Notes on the Admiralty View of the Risk of Invasion.

"A singularly lucid and important statement by the First Sea Lord of the Admiralty on the peril of invasion. . . . It may be hoped that these words of solemn warning will sink deep into the hearts of the business men of the country."—*Daily Telegraph*.

"This volume is one that all students of Imperial Defence will welcome. . . . The whole memorandum is the work of a master of his subject, able to bring to the aid of his arguments a literary style of exceptional grace."—*Army and Navy Gazette*.

ANCIENT AND MODERN IMPERIALISM. An Address Delivered to the Classical Association in January 1910. By the Earl of Cromer, G.C.B., O.M., G.C.M.G. Third Impression. Crown 8vo. 2s. 6d. net.

Mr. ROOSEVELT, in his Guildhall speech, said: "Those of you who know Lord Cromer's excellent book, in which he compares Ancient and Modern Imperialism, need no words from me to prove that the dominion of modern civilized nations over the dark places of the earth has been fraught with widespread good for mankind."

UNIVERSITIES AND NATIONAL LIFE. By the Viscount Haldane of Cloan. Second Edition, with an added chapter, entitled—**Great Britain and Germany: A Study in National Characteristics.** Crown 8vo. 2s. 6d. net.

"The subjects dealt with in these papers are of far wider scope than would be imagined from this title. So far as it is possible to summarize the lesson which they teach, they may be said to describe from various standpoints the ideal character, and to sketch out the best methods of developing it."—*Spectator*.

LONDON: JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET, W.

Hazell, Watson & Viney, Ltd., London and Aylesbury—12/9248

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA LIBRARY
Los Angeles

This book is DUE on the last date stamped below.

12-18-47 MAY 29 1948

Form L9-25m-9, '47 (A5618) 444

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
AT

UC SOUTHERN REGIONAL LIBRARY FACILITY



AA 001 280 671 7

